Tamil TIMES

Vol X No.12 ISSN 0266-4488 15 NOVEMBER 1991 75p

"I do not agree with a word of what you say, but I'll defend to the death your right to say it."

– Voltaire

★ The Drift to Total War

★ THE SAARC FIASCO

★ The Constitutional Coup – External Factors

Indian P.M. Narasimha Rao – landslide victory

★ Military Offensive in North-East Sri Lanka

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Views expressed by contributors are not necessarily those of the editor or the publishers.

Tamil TIMES

ISSN 0266-4488

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION

UK/India/Sri Lanka. . . £10/US$20
Australia. . . . . .Aus$40
Canada. . . . . Can$35
All other countries. . . £15/US$30

Published by

TAMIL TIMES LTD
P.O. BOX 121
SUTTON, SURREY SM1 3 TD
UNITED KINGDOM

Phone: 081-644 0972

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THE DRIFT TOWARDS TOTAL WAR

The reported recent peace moves by intermediaries between the Sri Lankan government and LTTE would not appear to have made any progress. As the media continues to report about talks about talks, the military thrust by government forces in the north and east of the country have taken a more aggressive pace.

Cabinet Minister and President of the Ceylon Workers Congress Mr. S. Thondaman commenced his peace efforts some months ago and despatched a reasonably detailed document to the LTTE leaders in Jaffna seeking their response. But what has happened ever since, according to reports, is an exchange of letters which reflect little progress.

The London-based Quakers Peace International have been shuttling between London, Colombo and Jaffna, and now Geneva too where LTTE leader Sathasivam Krishnakumar (Kittu) is presently residing. Despite their years of peace moves and thousands of miles of shuttling to and from by the ever optimistic Quaker delegates, nothing seems to have happened to make any movement towards peace.

As for the warring parties, even as they constantly proclaim their preparedness to negotiate, self-contradictory assertions and reassertions of entrenched positions are being made aimed at their respective constituencies. Such public posturings have not helped the efforts of the peacemakers.

In the meantime, the military thrust by government forces assuming greater and greater intensity has gathered pace and momentum of its own creating an atmosphere not conducive to any moves for peace. As stories of the advance of government forces deep into LTTE-held territory particularly in the north and about other military successes are daily reported in the mass media, a climate of opinion is already in the making that entertains the expectation of a military outcome to the conflict. Again, the concerted and continuing campaign by the UNP rebel group led by ex-cabinet ministers Lalith Athulathmudali and Gamini Dissanayake against President Premadasa on the question of the alleged supply of large quantities of sophisticated weapons and communication equipment to the LTTE to fight the IPKF and other Tamil groups has compelled President Premadasa to defend himself before his own southern constituency by adopting a more aggressive posture and giving almost total autonomy to the armed forces to continue with their relentless military operations against the LTTE.

Despite the claim that the military operations are directed at the Tigers and not against the people, the fact is that it is the civilian population of the north and east that is at the receiving end. If the recent publicised reports of military successes about the capture of large chunks of territory including the islands off the coast of Jaffna hitherto under Tiger control are true, it would seem that the siege of Jaffna has begun in earnest. Already there are reports that several outlying areas particularly the coastal belt have been devastated by sustained shelling from naval gunboats and aerial bombardment.

An alienated and antagonised India and its people who, going by past experience, would have had a decisive say in any attempt at a military solution to the conflict in Sri Lanka, and the international community would seem to watch the drift towards total war and the harrowing and devastating prospects that it offers to a beleaguered people with a display of total silence and unconcern. History will not pardon those who, by their acts of commission and omission, have wantonly dissipated the vast amount of goodwill, solidarity and support that existed in recent years for the Tamil cause and brought about a situation in which the Tamil people are more or less isolated today.

The Sri Lankan government and its armed forces stand condemned for its determination to prosecute this war with absolute lack of concern for the enormous suffering of the people. It must be the wish of all those who have the interest of the people at heart that the government and the LTTE recognise their respective responsibilities to the people to stop this ongoing war and seek a negotiated settlement.

The SAARC Fiasco

Colombo – The last minute cancellation of the Sixth Heads of State Summit scheduled to have been held on 7-8 November in Colombo has been described variously as a national humiliation, national tragedy and the gravest personal public insult ever suffered by President Premadasa. What was expected to be a morale-booster for a politically beleaguered President who has just emerged from an attempt to impeach him by a group of his own party men turned out to be a monumental debacle.

The official reason given for the cancellation of the Summit by President M.A. Gayoom of Maldives, the current Chairman of SAARC who was already in Colombo, was that he had come to the conclusion that it could not be held because of the 'inability of the King of Bhutan to attend the Summit due to domestic preoccupations'. According to the strict interpretation of SAARC's charter, the attendance of all the Heads of State of the member countries – India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Nepal and Maldives – is required to hold a Summit. However the fifth Summit was held in Male last year with only six of the seven Heads of State attending, and the seventh – Sri Lankan President Premadasa – being represented by Prime Minister Dingiri Banda Wijetunga. India did not seem to mind a breach of the SAARC Charter then, but this time India objected to the holding of the Summit in breach of the Charter's provisions!

The Sri Lankan mainstream media, particularly the state-controlled newspapers have charged India of sabotaging the Summit suggesting that had India been flexible, it would have gone ahead.

The press lamented that the vast amount of money spent and the months of preparation that went into the organisation for the Summit had been in vain. One of the weaknesses identified in President Premadasa by his political opponents is that he spares no effort or money in connection with the pomp and pageantry that accompany every function he presides over. An angry editor of the 'The Sunday Times' commented: 'Never before in Sri Lanka's history has so much been done by so many for an event that was not to be. Preparations which began one year ago, got into full gear in recent weeks. City beggars and vendors were picked up and packed off to Hambantota. Streets were renovated and decorated. Policemen and propagandists were given new uniforms. So full and complete were the arrangements that a dormant by-law of the Municipality was revived to get even householders on summit routes to colour wash their parapet walls within seven days'.

Despite the Summit's cancellation, President Premadasa did not allow his efforts to go to waste entirely. The clever and shrewd political strategist he is, was made evident by his turning the cancelled seven-member Summit into a mini-summit of four heads of state. The Prime Ministers of Bangladesh and Pakistan and the President of Maldives turned their visits to Colombo into bi-lateral exercises, and gave President Premadasa an opportunity to talk on regional concerns. At the public reception to the visiting guests, Premadasa voiced some of the issues in the draft declaration over which the Foreign Secretaries and Council of Ministers had laboured in preparation for the Summit that never was.

However vehemently the Indian High Commission in Colombo or the Foreign Office in Delhi may deny the charge, the fact is that the stance adopted by India resulted in the cancellation of the Summit. But observers believe that the past behaviour of Sri Lanka in relation to previous SAARC Summits and the continuing friction-ridden Indo-Sri Lanka relations contributed to the Indian stand. The SAARC Summit was due to be held in Colombo in 1987, but the Sri Lankan government refused to host it. Again Colombo was the venue for the Summit in late 1989, but President Premadasa was personally responsible for refusing to host on the grounds that it would not be held in Colombo so long as foreign troops (IPKF) were in Sri Lanka. Again when the fifth Summit was held in Male last year President Premadasa, although there were no domestic compulsions, stayed away having sent his Prime Minister to stand in for him.

There were other reasons too. When the former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi signed the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement in July 1987 with the then President Junius Jayawardene, Mr. Premadasa, who was Prime Minister at the time, boycotted the ceremony and made public display of his stand. Again, the IPKF came to Sri Lanka in August 1987 at the invitation of the then President, but after Mr. Premadasa assumed office as President, he publicly called for the IPKF's withdrawal without first having raised the matter through the usual diplomatic channels, and this led to a period of unseemly diplomatic wrangle between the two countries. In a recent interview, the Indian High Commissioner in Colombo expressed disappointment at Sri Lanka's failure to honour the IPKF soldiers for their role in defending Sri Lanka's unity. 'Over 1200 Indian soldiers sacrificed their lives to uphold the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka and we are sad that they were not honoured', he said. New Delhi also considers President Premadasa's decision to lease land in Sri Lanka to set up a Voice of America station as a direct and unilateral violation of the provisions of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. The premature release after Premadasa assumed office of the naval rating who assaulted former Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, during a guard of honour in Colombo in the course of the ceremonies associated with the India-Sri Lanka Agreement, has also not gone unnoticed by Delhi.

Besides the unhappiness expressed in some Indian newspapers about the alleged lack of cooperation by the Sri Lankan security forces in investigating and establishing the identity of certain named persons reported to have been involved in the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, the recent revelations by the leaders of the UNP rebel group that President Premadasa was responsible for directing the supply of vast quantities of sophisticated weapons to the LTTE to fight the IPKF when it was in Sri Lanka have certainly displeased New Delhi. Reliable sources indicate that New Delhi is also irritated by the reported secret contacts through intermediaries between President Premadasa and the LTTE so soon after the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi for which India is holding the LTTE responsible. On top of all this came the recent expulsion of the All India Radio Correspondent Karuppaswamy and the refusal of the Sri Lankan government to accede to the Indian government's request to at least postpone his date of enforced departure until after the conclusion of the SAARC summit.

However much India stands accused of being responsible for the cancellation of the SAARC Summit, Sri Lanka's opposition parties have rejected suggestions that New Delhi sabotaged it. A joint opposition statement blamed President Premadasa for the debacle. Describing the cancellation as 'the most serious diplomatic failure of the Premadasa government' and 'the most serious setback for Sri Lanka in the international sphere', the statement said, 'We do not share the view that India sabotaged the Summit. Even if one were to accept that, there should be attempts to remedy the situation and improve relations', and added 'We believe that Sri Lanka had to suffer the humiliation of a last-minute cancellation due to the absence of a coherent, intelligent and consistent foreign policy'.

Offensive continues amidst talk of talks

With the capture of Pooneryn and Sangupiddy to the south of the Jaffna district and the offshore islands including the Mahadeva Causeway (Pannai causeway) that links the offshore islands with the Jaffna peninsula in recent military operations and with the control already over the areas around Kankesanthurai, Palaly and Karainagar, military officers claim that the LTTE is hemmed in within the Jaffna peninsula by government forces. After the takeover of the offshore islands, the Navy has set up four new bases in Eluvaitivu, Analaitivu and Punkudutivu and additional naval reinforcements have been sent to strengthen the Nainativu, Kayts and Karainagar bases. Forces have advanced to Arali south of Vaddukoddai as heavy shelling devastated Moolai and adjoining areas. The navy has also established an operational base on the Pooneryn coast after the army and navy in a joint operation secured a beach-head on the coast and ultimately seized control of the Sangupiddy ferry which was the only remaining link between the peninsula and the mainland. Government forces are reported to have also gained control of an arc of territory from northern Karaitivu to Vettilaikerni five miles east of Elephant Pass.

The military thrust was accompanied by heavy shelling and aerial bombardment throughout the Jaffna peninsula resulting in substantial damage and casualties. Vadamaratchi, Point Pedro, Kottadi and other coastal areas have been badly hit by incessant shelling from naval gunboats and bombing from attack aircraft.

As the military offensive intensified, the suffering of the civilian population has escalated. Most of the people from offshore islands and coastal areas have fled their homes and taken refuge in the interior areas of the peninsula. With the severance of the passenger link between the peninsula and mainland, not only movement of people has been made impossible, but also there is an acute shortage of food and other essential commodities within Jaffna pushing the people to near starvation.

The army has made radio announcements calling upon the people to use the Elephant Pass, but the Tigers have not permitted this on the ground that the approaches to the Pass have been heavily mined by them and that the removal of these mines is not possible at present because most of the cadres which were employed to mine these areas have been killed in the battle for the Elephant Pass. A full scale propaganda war is also under way with the army's Palaly radio station telling the people of Jaffna that they are already surrounded and that the troops would enter the town at any time while the Tigers claim that they have stemmed the army's advance and urging the people to stay calm and not to be taken in by the army's propaganda. Meanwhile Jaffna's beleaguered people have been called upon to perform civil defence duties. Coastal watch units and work brigades are being organised and school children are being summoned to give blood at hospitals.

Meanwhile, Air Force Commander, Terrence Gunawardene told newspapers that civilians in Jaffna would be asked to move into safer areas if the security forces decided to take on the Tigers within the peninsula. 'However if the LTTE compels civilians to remain in their defence lines, it will be the LTTE who will fire through the civilian-shield once troops start advancing towards Jaffna', he added. He also claimed that the LTTE leader V. Prabhakaran was trapped within the peninsula and he would not be allowed to escape this time.

In an attempt to divert the attention of the army from the northern front, the LTTE cadres have begun to penetrate and attack many areas in the eastern province which the army claimed they had regained control in earlier encounters. The Tigers are also reported to have penetrated into some parts of Polonnaruwa which is in the North Central Province. Following Tiger ambush attacks in the Batticaloa and Amparai districts, government forces have launched widespread rounding-up operations called 'Boomerang' and 'Dragnet'. Hundreds of people have been rounded up in Paduwankarai, Varunathivu, Kannankadu and Kalladi where buildings have also been damaged as a consequence of aerial attacks by the Air Force.

Meanwhile the government is reported to be taking action to restore civil administration in the Vavuniya district and a special delegation comprising Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs Ranil Wickremasinghe and Minister of Rehabilitation and Welfare P. Dayaratne visited Vavuniya on 28 October. A special task force consisting of the secretariats of all ministries is to be set up at the Vavuniya Kachcheri to expedite the process of civil administration being restored.

A meeting was held at the Presidential Secretariat in Colombo to launch the work of the special task force at which the Governor of the North Central Province, government agents and officials of various ministries were present. The task force was called upon to ensure that the administrative machinery was restored and functioned smoothly so that priority attention could be given to the resettlement of displaced persons and the resumption of normal economic activities and to the restoration of essential services, provision of housing, reopening of schools, medical institutions retail outlets etc. It was also decided that the state sector employees who could not or had not reported for work so far should resume work by 18 November and that the Commissioner of Examinations would hold a special examination for those GCE (O/L) students in the northern province in December this year.

'Sri Lanka should learn from eastern Europe' : Kittu

— Rita Sebastian —

GENEVA – The Sri Lanka government should take a hard look at the changing political scenario in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and realise that unitary constitutions do not have any relevance for countries with national minorities, says LTTE top runger Sathasivam Krishnakumar, alias 'Kittu' in his first interview since his expulsion from the U.K.

We met Kittu, who is still adjusting to the use of an artificial leg, in Geneva where he is awaiting a ruling from the Swiss government on his request for political asylum.

Served with a deportation order by the British government 'I committed no crime in Britain and I can't understand their decision', Kittu slipped out of the country before the order was enforced.

The meeting with Kittu was arranged by an intermediary and Kittu arrived, punctual to the minute, in a taxi from outside Geneva with two young 'friends' and laughed off rumours that the Swiss government had provided him armed protection. 'Why do I need protection here when there is no threat?'

Although physically distanced from the rest of the LTTE leadership, mentally he is of the same mind as them, that any negotiations with the Sri Lanka government will have to be without conditions.

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'The government must realise that there can be no military solution. Weapons are our protective mechanism. They are not just AK 47s' says Kittu.

The LTTE position has over the past several months hardened and they dismiss the provincial councils system as inadequate and not meeting the aspirations of the Tamil people.

'We are looking at different models but our basic demand is for an independent sovereign state that can probably be accommodated in a union where both states enjoy equal status' says Kittu, dismissing the suggestion that the Tamils are an ethnic minority. According to him they are a national community and therefore qualify for nation status.

Commenting on India's mediatory role in the Sri Lankan national question Kittu feels that India mishandled the issue when she could have easily helped to resolve it.

Like the rest of the LTTE leadership Kittu does not think that tightened naval surveillance of the Palk Straits or the crackdown on their cadres in Tamil Nadu will lead to a shrinking of their arms supplies. 'We will manage somehow' he says confidently and points out that their liberation struggle does not depend on weapons. 'It is the morale of our people that is important and that is why I say that all the Tamil people must support us, for it is for their rights that we are fighting.'

Kittu is one of around 20,000 Sri Lankan Tamils who have sought refuge in Switzerland, 4,000 of them said to have arrived in the first six months of this year. There is no doubt that Kittu will get his political asylum.

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Press sealed in bid to suppress dissent

Recent measures by the authorities in Sri Lanka reveal a renewed attempt to suppress expression of dissent or views disagreeable to the government. Using emergency powers to seal and shut down the Navagama press, the harassment of the 'Ravaya' editor by the police, the expulsion of an All India Radio correspondent and the confiscation of a printing press imported by the social service organisation 'Sarvodaya' are a manifestation of this trend.

On 18 September, the Navagama press located in Ratmalana near Colombo where the Sinhala newspaper *Yukthiya* publihed by the Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE) is printed was raided and searched by the police. Two workers who were there at the time were taken into custody by the police – one of them was taken to the residence of the owner of the press, Kelly Senanayake, and two policemen remained at that house until nightfall. Thereafter the two press employees were taken to the police station and kept there overnight. The owner was ordered to report at the police station the following morning where he was questioned and a statement recorded in regard to the work undertaken by him as a printer.

The incident was obviously linked to the fact that the particular issue of *Yukthiya* being printed at the time carried lead stories about the motion to impeach President Premadasa. The questioning of the lay-out artist by the police confirmed this linkage.

On the morning of 4 October, police officers believed to be attached to the Mount Lavinia police station again searched the Navagama press, took away material that was being printed off the machines, placed seals on both the front and back doors of the press. Two armed policemen were placed on guard outside the front of the premises. On this day, the printers were engaged in printing a booklet titled 'Casino Raja Joe Sim Saha Premadasa Nedeye' (Casino King Joe Sim and President Premadasa). The booklet also referred to the abduction and murder of Richard de Zoysa and the abduction and disappearance of Lakshman Perera.

On 8 October, Kelly Senanayake petitioned the Supreme Court challenging the sealing of the press alleging that his fundamental rights to freedom of speech and expression and his freedom to engage in an occupation guaranteed by the Constitution (Article 14(1)(a) and (9)) had been infringed by executive action.

While the court proceedings were pending, on 10 October observers in the vicinity of the press reported that the seals placed on the front door of the press had been torn off and the padlocks removed although the police guards remained in place. On the following day, it was observed that the seals and padlocks on the back door also had been removed. On the same day it was found that the entire press had been ransacked and all the machinery had been wantonly damaged even while the police were supposed to guard the place.

The court case has been postponed for February 1992 and in the meantime the press is immobilised.

The Ravaya Case

Ravaya, an outspoken main-stream Sinhalese language political weekly recently published 43 names of the ruling United National Party MPs, including six ministers and the Speaker, who had signed the impeachment motion. On 20 October, Victor Ivan, the editor of the paper was taken in by the police for questioning by the Criminal Investigations Department on the report that appeared in the paper. The police subjected him to hours of interrogation to find out as to how and from whom he had obtained the list of signatories to the motion of impeachment.

This is not the first time *Ravaya* and its editor were targeted for special treatment. On 17 August officials from the Criminal Investigations Department had arrived at the paper's office without prior notice and in spite of protests proceeded to search and scrutinise all the files and took away some of them without producing a search warrant for the purpose. The editor Victor Ivan was summoned to the CID the following day and after questioning a statement was recorded.

Prior to the police raid, *Ravaya* had published a series of feature articles exposing incidents of malpractice and fraud in state and private institutions and had named some well known public figures as being involved.

Sarvodaya Press

A printing press imported by the Sarvodaya at a cost of approximately eleven million rupees has recently been confiscated by the authorities. The press imported from Netherlands had arrived in the Colombo port at the beginning of the year and Sarovdaya had paid the customs duty of Rs. 3.5 million on 12 April and when it wanted to remove it from the Colombo port, the removal was prevented on 'orders from the top'.

After months of procrastination by the Customs authorities, when the Sarvodaya leader Dr. A.T. Ariyaratne made public that the printing press was being unreasonably withheld, the order for the confiscation of it was announced on the alleged reason that the import value had been understated. Even if there is any truth in the allegation, it is significant that in this case the Customs department have not followed their usual practice of placing what they prescribe as the true value of the imported item and levy a duty accordingly, and on payment release it to the importer.

It is not without significance that Sarvodaya and its leader have been subjected to a concerted and inspired campaign of vilification by the state-controlled press, mainly by the Lake House Group of newspapers. The authorities would appear to have suspected that the press imported by Sarvodaya was going to be used for printing a newspaper, and it is probable that the order to confiscate the printing press was an attempt to prevent the publication of a new paper.

An angry Dr. Ariyaratne said that this was 'a classic example of gross violation of fundamental rights . . . and even if we had wanted to print a newspaper the government should have welcomed it as we are exercising a fundamental right'. Sarvodaya is expected to challenge the confiscation order in the courts.

Expulsion of Indian Journalist

Last month the government ordered the expulsion of the All India Radio correspondent in Colombo, Mr. A. Karuppaswamy. This followed a broadcast on 15 October by the All India Radio based on a report filed by its Colombo correspondent that the Speaker of Sri Lanka's parliament, Mr. M.H. Mohamed had resigned from his post. It turned out that Mr. Karuppaswamy had been misled by a usually 'reliable source'. On discovering that he had filed an erroneous report, he prompty filed another report denying the reported Speaker's resignation thus correcting the earlier one. His second report also was broadcast by the All India Radio.

However, on the direction of the government, officials of the Information department and Immigration and Emigration department questioned Mr. Karuppaswamy following which the government ordered his expulsion. Neither the intervention by the Indian High Commission in Colombo nor the protests by the Foreign Correspondents' Association of Sri Lanka was able to secure his expulsion order revoked.

In a press statement, the Foreign Correspondents' Association expressed shock and dismay at the expulsion of the Indian journalist. 'Mr Karuppaswamy committed an error in reporting which he admitted and promptly corrected as soon as it was pointed out to him. Journalists, like other human beings are not infallible. What should be expected of them is that they correct their mistakes promptly. This Mr. Karuppaswamy did. If each error in reporting is met with such severe punishmentt journalism as a profession will not be able to survive'.

Some see the drastic action taken against the Indian journalist as a direct threat to other foreign correspondents in Colombo 'to behave'.

LTTE: losing ground

T.S. Subramanian

'Able was I ere I saw Elba,' is the famous remark attributed to Napoleon Bonaparte. In a similar vein, the leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), V. Prabakaran, may as well be rueing today, 'Able was I ere I saw Elephant Pass.'

In a series of decisive military victories starting in August with the Sri Lankan Army's breaking the siege the LTTE had thrown around its' (the Army's) camp in the Elephant Pass, the island's armed forces have not only smashed three big camps of the militants in the jungles of Mullaitivu district in September but also captured five other camps in Amparai district in the East in the first week of October. Later, they beat back the LTTE when it stormed an army detachment camp close to Mullaitivu town.

Then, the security forces went on to capture the islets of Mandaitivu, Kayts and Karainagar off the Jaffna peninsula. A couple of days later, in a morale-shattering blow to the LTTE, the Army wrested the Dutch-built Jaffna Fort from the LTTE, which it had earlier described as 'the symbol of several centuries of enslavement of the Tamils.' If in the operations for the camps at Mullaitivu and Amparai districts the Air Force had played a crucial role, fiercely bombing the LTTE positions and also a rice warehouse in the Jaffna peninsula, it was a joint operation of the Army, the Air Force and the Navy that saw a number of islets around the Jaffna peninsula fall like ninepins.

These reverses have not only exposed the weakness of the LTTE in positional, conventional warfare but signalled that the Tigers' fighting capabilities are at a low ebb now. The aura of invincibility the LTTE had built around itself has been removed. The defeats make the LTTE's claims that its newly-acquired anti-aircraft guns can take care of aircraft flying up to a height of 1,500 metres and that the soldiers in the Elephant Pass camp have become 'sitting ducks', ring hollow.

In between these offensives, the LTTE switched back to its hit-and-run attacks, blowing up an armoured personnel carrier in Trincomalee, ambushing army patrols twice in Amparai and blowing up a naval vessel off the Kayts island, killing scores of soldiers.

Why is it that the LTTE has lost out everywhere now – in the North, the East and the Jaffna peninsula itself? With its arms, communication and smuggling network in Tamil Nadu taken apart by the State police in the aftermath of Rajiv Gandhi's assassination, and the consequent loss of Tamil Nadu as a rear-base for its activities, the LTTE is a severely hobbled force and is fighting with its back to the wall. It is not able to smuggle across the Palk Strait arms, ammunition and fuel; nor is it able to bring across to Tamil Nadu injured militants for treatment.

More important, the restraint the Government of India would have exercised on the Sri Lankan Government, cautioning the latter about going for all-out offensives, is absent now.

The internal changes reportedly effected in the LTTE by Prabakaran have also had their impact. There are reports that the LTTE's deputy leader, Mahatiya, has been replaced as commander of the Vani region by Balraj after the debacle at Elephant Pass. What lends credence to this speculation is that the high-profile Mahatiya has not been visible since August. Sri Lankan Tamil sources claim his men have been inactive during these offensives.

The LTTE suffered setbacks in Mullaitivu because the Army had studied its weaknesses during the 'jungle-bashing' the LTTE had received from the Indian Peace-Keeping Force at Alampil, Nethikaikulam, Kumulamunai, Udaiyarkattu and so on in 1988 and 1989. At that time the Army had allowed the supply lines to reach the

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NEWS ROUND-UP

● **MEDICINS SANS FRONTIERES** (MSF), the French-based international medical aid organisation, is to sign an agreement with Sri Lanka shortly to enable MSF to continue medical relief work in north-east Sri Lanka. Discussions between the government and MSF on all key issues including security of Non-Governmental Organisations working in the north-east are said to have been completed. The proposed agreement is described as an extension of the earlier one signed in 1986. The recent talks between the government and MSF are said to have paved the way for better relations between the two sides which had been strained following the aerial attack on a MSF vehicle and its personnel on 3 May this year.

● **AT LEAST** 14 soldiers were killed in an LTTE ambush attack between Welikanda and Wadaminau in the Polonnaruwa district on 27 October. Four soldiers and a Lieutenant were also injured when a platoon of 53 soldiers came under attack in which an estimated 150 LTTE cadres, including women cadres, are reported to have taken part. The Tigers also got away with all the T81 weapons of the 14 dead soldiers. Army sources claimed that at least 13 LTTE cadres were killed in the encounter.

● **THE NOCHCHIYAMOOTAI** main road connecting Vavuniya town from Vavuniya north after several months of blockade by government forces was opened for passenger transport on 17 October. However the movement of lorries and bicycles through this seven-mile stretch in the Kandy-Jaffna main road continues to remain banned. Before the lifting of the blockade civilians had to use pathways through dense jungles to get to Vavuniya town. However a checkpoint has been setup at Nochchiyamootai which is manned by PLOTE cadres.

● **THE TAMIL NADU** Congress(I) leader, Mr. Vazapadi Ramamurthy has reiterated the need to ban the LTTE as a means of preventing its activities and those of its support groups in India. He told reporters that he had submitted a report to Prime Minister Narasimha Rao making out a case for banning the LTTE. Calling for what he described as stringent action against the LTTE and its support groups under the National Security Act, he added that the Tigers continued to get their supplies from Tamil Nadu and some groups sought to hold pro-LTTE meetings in Madras, Vellore and Madurai. Mr. Ramamurthy's call to ban the LTTE came in the wake of a recent attempt by a group calling itself the Revolutionary Liberation Force to convene a pro-LTTE public meeting in his home district of Dharmapuri. The police prevented the meeting taking place by rounding up over 300 persons.

● **FOUR SOLDIERS** and four homeguards on mobile patrol duty along Arippu road in Trincomalee were killed in an ambush attack by LTTE cadres on 29 October. The Tigers also seized the weapons of the dead soldiers and homeguards before leaving the scene of the attack.

● **THE HINDU,** the Indian English daily, reported that following the arrest of Theodore Charles (29), an alleged LTTE supporter, along with a hand grenade, a transreceiver and a VHF set which were seized, two other persons P. Ravichandran (22) and Ramesh alias Suchindran (29) were also arrested at Dindigul on 23 October and have been remanded in police custody until November 19. Theodore who hailed from Arakkonam in north Arcot-Ambedkar district was staying in Dindigul together with Ravi and Ramesh. At the time of their arrest, they had allegedly been planning to establish a full-fledged communication link to Jaffna from Kodaikanal in Dindgul-Anna district. Ravi and Ramesh had received training in LTTE camps in Jaffna for two years, and at the time of their arrest the police also seized from their possession 6 gold biscuits, Rs. 31,234 in cash, a revolver, 29 cartridges, a knife and cyanide capsules. A Reuter report datelined 29 October from Madras quoting J. Ramakrishnan, head of the state police, said that Ravichandran was a key member of the Tamil National Liberation Army (TNLA) which was allegedly being trained and armed by the LTTE and with his arrest the police had come to know of the TNLA's existence. The report added that the 'LTTE had given Ravichandran 600,000 rupees (23,000 Dollars) to recruit and train Indian Tamils in warfare, so that at an opportune moment they could lead a revolt in support of the LTTE in Tamil Nadu'.

● **BY AN AGREEMENT** signed between Germany and Sri Lanka on 25 October, the German government has pledged a grant aid of Dm. 15 million for the Poverty Alleviation Programme (Janasaviya) and Dm. 10 million for the rehabilitation of internal refugees using the services of NGOs. Further grants totalling Dm. 22 million were pledged for GTZ Assisted projects in agriculture, vocational training, hydrography, regional development, coast conservation etc. The total assistance pledged by Germany for 1991 and 1993 is approximately Rs. 1,165.6 million in grant aid. Dr. Wolf Preuss, head of the German delegation said that future development assistance to Sri Lanka would depend on the adherence to five conditions namely, respect for human rights, involvement of the population in political decision making processes, guarantee of legal security, creation of a market oriented economic system and the development orientation of government activities.

● **THE WADUGODAPITIYA** Presidential Commission of Inquiry appointed to investigate certain allegations contained in Victor Ostrovsky's book 'By Way of Deception – the Making and Unmaking of a Mossad Officer', handed over its report to President Premadasa on 29 October. The Commission was appointed in September 1990 to inquire into whether (a) any Sri Lankan terrorists were trained by the Mossad, (b) any member of the security forces were trained by Mossad, (c) any member of the security forces went to Israel for making military purchases, (d) two Israeli academics were engaged to prepare a false feasibility report on the Mahaweli project, (e) Mossad secured the award of a part of a contract to an Israeli Construction Company, (f) Mossad trained Sri Lankan officers to deliberately mislead the World Bank, (g) Mossad utilised the funds obtained from the World Bank to pay for arms purchased by Sri Lanka from Israel, and (h) if any Sri Lankan informed the authors that the funds were being used to purchase equipment for the Sri Lankan army. Except in the case of item (c) in respect of which the Commission finds that four high-ranking officers from the army, navy and airforce visited Israel on 30 June 1985 and returned on 8 July 1985, all other findings of the Commission are in the negative. Presidential Adviser Bradman Weerakoon speaking to journalists said that the Commission had recommended the establishment of a National Defence Agency to collect information relating to anti-Sri Lankan activities.

● **THE BASIC TRAVEL** allowance granted to resident Sri Lankans travelling to countries other than those in the South Asian region has been raised with effect from November 1 to US $2,500 per year from the previous US $1,500 for a three year period. As a further concession to those who travel abroad the Central Bank has also decided to permit resident Sri Lankans leaving the country to declare foreign currency only if it amounted to more than US $2,500 or equivalent in other designated currencies.

● **A DELEGATION** comprising representatives of the All Ceylon Tamil Congress, Peoples Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE), Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front (ENDLF), Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) and Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students (EROS) met with a six member delegation of the Sri Lanka Freedom

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Party (SLFP) headed by the acting Leader of the Opposition Anura Bandaranaike on 31 October to discuss ways and means to resolve the ethnic crisis. The Tamil delegation called upon the SLFP to refrain from using the ethnic issue to gain political advantage. Discussions also centred around the 43 member parliamentary select committee appointed to evolve a negotiated political solution to the ethnic problem. The two delegations agreed to continue the process of discussions after the return of the SLFP leader Mrs. S.B. Bandaranaike to the island.

● **THE SRI LANKAN ARMY COMMANDER,** Lt. General Hamilton Wanasinghe who retires in the middle of November is to be appointed as the General Officer Commanding a revitalised Joint Operations Command which, according to defence sources, is expected to adopt a more aggressive strategy in the war against the LTTE. The JOC Headquarters has now been shifted to the Army Headquarters complex. The move became inevitable following LTTE's suicide vehicle bomb attack upon the JOC Headquarters situated on Flower Road, Colombo 7, in June this year in which 25 persons were killed and the building badly damaged. The present army Chief of Staff, Major General Cecil Waidyaratne is expected to be appointed Commander of the 77,000 strong Sri Lankan army. Rear Admiral Clancy Fernando assumed duties as the Commander of the Sri Lankan Navy in place of Vice-Admiral H. Ananda Silva who relinquished his duties on 31 October.

● **A SECOND MOTION** of No-Confidence on Mr. M.H. Mohamed, the Speaker of the Sri Lankan parliament signed on behalf of four opposition parties was submitted to the Secretary General of Parliament on 31 October. The signatories are Mrs. S. Bandaranaike and Mr. Anura Bandaranaike of the SLFP, Mr. Athauda Seneviratne and Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara on behalf of the United Socialist Alliance, Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene on behalf of the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna and Mr. Raja Kuganeswaran and K. Navaratnam on behalf of the EPRLF. The motion alleges that the Speaker acted in violation of Standing Orders on October 23.

● **OVER A THOUSAND** Muslim refugees demonstrated in Puttalam in Sri Lanka on 3 November against the LTTE which had driven them out from their homes in the northern areas of Jaffna and Mannar and for confiscating their properties. The protesters had congregated in the Puttalam town to mark the anniversary of their exodus. The demonstrators had come from some 87 refugee camps scattered in the Puttalum district where there are about 45,000 refugees.

● **SRI LANKA'S** State Pharmaceuticals Corporation is to immediately import essential drugs from India to meet the severe shortage of drugs in hospitals throughout the island. Patients who attended government hospitals in major cities including Colombo and provincial and rural hospitals have been undergoing severe hardship due to frequent shortages of drugs. Most of them cannot afford to purchase drugs from private chemists due to the high prices.

● **THE SRI LANKA NAVY** would acquire three more Chinese gunboats by the middle of November. These gunboats are described as the most modern and more powerful than those already in possession of the Navy. They are armed with heavier weapons. The navy's present fleet of naval craft includes three surveillance command ships, four landing crafts, fifteen Fast Attack Crafts and both foreign and locally built patrol boats.

● **ONE SOLDIER** and about ten LTTE cadres are reported to have been killed when troops overran a Tiger camp in the Thoppigala area in the eastern Batticaloa district on 7 November. Government troops backed by heavy artillery, helicopter gunships and Y12 bombers entered the Thoppigal jungle from several directions. Military sources claimed that several strong bunkers, stores, training facilities, furniture and bicycles were destroyed and a quantity of claymore mines and telecommunication sets were recovered by the forces.

● **MORE THAN** 85 percent of the health institutions in Sri Lanka have been completely paralysed and the rest have been badly affected as a result of a strike by members of the society of Registered and Assistant Medical Officers (SRAMO). The strike is in protest against the failure of the Ministry of Health to consider the demands submitted several years ago by the SRAMO. The Government Medical Officers' Association (GMOA) which oppose several of the demands of the SRAMO instructed its members to cover the duties of RMOs and AMOs.

● **TWENTY-TWO** major trade unions in Sri Lanka have urged the Sri Lankan government to withdraw the proposed Media Commission Bill and strengthen the freedom of the press and amend the present Press Council Law to provide for a code of ethics for journalists. They have suggested that the press should have full freedom of expression and that the TV network should be released from state control. On the contrary the Media Commission Bill was intended to impose total state control of the press, limiting freedom of expression and if enacted into law would prevent publication of news without fear of prosecution. The unions also have expressed their concern about the possibility that trade union publications will also come under the hammer of the Media Commission.

'RAJIV'S KILLERS WILL BE PUNISHED' says Indian P.M.

MADRAS, Oct. 25.

Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, Prime Minister, today said that those responsible for the killing of the former Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, would be tracked down wherever they were and brought to book. All the resources of the Governments of India and Tamil Nadu would be utilised for this. 'I would like to reiterate that those responsible for this heinous act will certainly be punished.'

After paying homage to Rajiv Gandhi along with the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Ms. Jayalalitha, at Sriperumbudur where the former Prime Minister was assassinated on May 21, Mr. Narasimha Rao said the Congress(I) Government would act according to the guidance given by Rajiv Gandhi and see that all the assurances contained in the party manifesto were implemented.

Alliance to be strengthened

Mr. Rao said Rajiv Gandhi was a co-architect of the Congress(I) AIADMK alliance. 'We respect this alliance. We shall maintain and strengthen this alliance in the years to come. We would like to assure the people of Tamil Nadu as well as its Chief Minister that we will honour every word given to the people here by Rajiv Gandhi.

On his first visit to Tamil Nadu since becoming the Prime Minister, Mr. Rao was participating in a function where he received the 'Ekta Kalasa' containing water from more than 30 holy rivers brought by 80 padayatris who commenced their journey from Amethi on August 20.

Paying poignant tributes to the memory of Rajiv Gandhi, Ms. Jayalalitha, who presided over the function, asked every citizen to take a pledge that they would never allow balkanisation of the country at any cost. The conspiracy to kill the former Prime Minister was hatched by some traitorous foreign elements in collaboration with some evil forces in Tamil Nadu. It was the duty of the people to see that those responsible for such killing should be rooted out lock, stock and barrel from political and public life.

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The 'Constitutional Coup' — The External Factors

Mervyn de Silva

The constitutional 'coup' has collapsed. The drama may be over, the final curtain likely to come down on a court-room rather than parliamentary scene. But the 'crisis' may stay with us.

Meanwhile the UNP, taken by total surprise and greatly shaken, will never again affect the cocky complacency into which it had so nicely settled. A rudely awakened public is no longer a silent spectator. The media has regained something of its combative vigour.

A dis-united United National Party is always a nett gain to its main rival, the SLFP but will the rewards be immediate and substantial, or mid-term and modest?

My chief concern however is the external factor or factors, the external involvements and implications. The press too. I don't suppose the aim of the external players was to oust the government. It was to 'soften' up the regime, to make it less powerful, more accountable to parliament. An independent parliamentary 'cautious', UNP but hostile to the Presidency, would have done nicely. Both a numbers and checks-and-balances game. It didn't work out that way. The self-opinionated diplomatic fine-tuning chaps didn't write the final score!

Regarding the external or the internal/external, what do we see? (1) The least politicised minority is now an activist – more self-conscious and assertive actor – the Muslims. with the Tamils, they hold the traditional balance. Include Mr. Thondaman's CWC, independent player, and that's it. Mr. Thondaman was also the main adviser-confidential agent of Delhi for a quarter century. This time he was left out. Either the game in Delhi is run by a new set, or a new set of rules, or the game was *not* organised by the real bosses, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and his group. Was part at least of the game an effort to weaken or embarrass Mr. Rao?

The two most important external players of course are INDIA and the U.S., the world's largest and the world's most powerful democracies.

In both countries, the Big Chief is in serious trouble chiefly because of the democratic context in which they are compelled to operate.

(1) President Bush, on the eve of a second-term campaign, is on an unprecedented collision course with the mighty Jewish Lobby in the US and ISRAEL. The Jewish Lobby operates within and outside the system, sometimes within the administration too.

(2) Mr. Narasimha Rao is in much greater trouble than President Premadasa. 'Factional groupings are acknowledged *de facto*' writes Nikhil Chakravarty, India's most respected editor. He adds: 'The Coterie, the Palace, the Maratha Brigade – all these are part of the Congress vocabulary today, at least in the capital. Open lobbying and backbiting go on. It is a veritable minefield through which he has to steer to maintain his leadership'.

When democratic leaders are in trouble, mavericks, rogue-operators and the covert agencies come into their own. One of their favourite instruments is the media, to whip up passions, to create confusion, to send wrong signals to increase tension. Wittingly or unwittingly, the politician, the journalist and foreign correspondent, the diplomat and the businessman are co-opted.

Like the Tamils, the Muslim community is now an identifiable player. To meet a challenge perceived as anti-Arab/Islam, the Muslim world responded, and Sri Lanka's foreign policy orientation became more West Asia (Pakistan westwards) than South Asian, a possibility that the gamesmen in Delhi may not have anticipated . . . nor the Jewish Lobby.

In the north-and-east, Sri Lanka has been ravaged by one of the world's fiercest ethnic insurgencies for the past decade or more. Colombo and most parts of the Sinhala South were in the vice-like grip of a barbaric youth revolt that was brutally quelled by 1989. And yet in late 1991, after three islandwide elections – Presidential, Parliamentary and provincial – we have a 'coup'. Not an army coup, once a common 3rd world malady. It is a 'constitutional coup' i.e. using the provisions of the 1978 J.R. JAYAWARDENA constitution, supported by a conspiratorial parliamentary numbers game, to oust an elected President, the leader of the party that won all three elections, and has governed this island for 30 of the 44 years since the 1947 general election. And the plot was hatched before May 26, when five key personalities involved, met for the first time. And the police didn't know, though the plot evidently was to topple a 'police state'.

Since it was a 'coup', bloodless and constitutional, the masses were kept out until the parliamentary trap was sprung, the impeachment motion, supported, it is said, by 35-45 UNP'ers, to be 'entertained' by the Speaker. But the main aim was 'parliamentary democracy', an end to centralised Presidential power, concentration of authority in the Executive Presidency, the vital change between the 1977 post-independent Westminster model, and the 1978 so-called 'Gaullist' experiment.

Since the main banner unfurled *after* the impeachment motion was 'Democracy', it was hardly surprising to see the UNP 'dissidents' making a conscious effort to identify their exercise with the world-wide phenomenon of popular rebellion and a triumphant democratic upsurge – not merely in 'socialist' Europe and the Soviet Union but in many parts of the Third World, including South Asia.

The sub-continent has had only two sturdy democracies, India and Sri Lanka, though this island has had prolonged emergencies which have led to the effective erosion of democracy, sometimes temporary.

The other South Asian regimes have seen various forms of regimentation and authoritarian control, chiefly under the military in the two largest Muslim states (Pakistan and Bangladesh) and under monarchies, (Nepal, notably).

As the world's most populous democracy, India, certainy under Nehru, believed that the spread of democracy on the sub-continent was not just a virtue but an asset. Later, when the Cold War contest intensified to the point where the actual independence and sovereignty of the 'new' States were threatened, Nehru placed great value on non-alignment too. It would be easier for India to get on well with non-aligned – democracies – that belief was a cornerstone of *India's regional policy. The objective was an accommodating, tension-free security environment in which India could re-build itself to realise his vision of the glory and the naturally endowed 'greatness' of India.* With the army quickly emerging as the effective ruler of Pakistan, and Pakistan establishing links, formal and non-formal, with US-dominated military alliances, Nehru emphasised non-alignment even more than democracy, though he did give his blessings to democratic oppositional movements in the region, but such encouragement never crossed the line to become direct military intervention, covert action or coercive diplomacy, or a 'mix' of all three. On account of its military strength, and its close cooperation with the US, and soon, China, Pakistan was always a special case.

'No Indian version of the Monroe Doctrine has functioned in South Asia' observes Surjit Mansingh in *India's*

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Search for Power, and another scholar Raju Thomas notes that 'Indian defense policy has usually been characterised by flexibility and ambivalence' *(Indian Security Policy)*, quoted by Devin Hagerty in *Asian Survey*. But Prof. Bhabani Sen Gupta argues that the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka did spawn an Indian doctrine of regional security.

There are two basic considerations to be borne in mind when understanding India's regional interests and how these are pursued. First, security must be studied in the broadest terms. An active democracy in a neighbouring country is welcome in Delhi. . . but not if that democratic regime follows a foreign policy which is 'hostile' to India e.g. the JR government, a sharp break with the Bandaranaike past. Secondly, a neighbour, however friendly, ceases to be a friend *if* its defence policies (even arms supplies and training) are linked to another country or countries, regional or extra-regional e.g. Pakistan, China or U.S. Thirdly, a neighbour whose internal policies have a disruptive effect on India (e.g. Tamil problem in Sri Lanka.)

All three were factors when JR assumed office and Indira Gandhi was running India, after the defeat of JR's friend Moraji Desai.

By the referendum of 1982, JRJ had shrewdly pre-empted Delhi, denying Mrs. Gandhi the policy option of subverting JR's 'constitutional dictatorship' in the hope of Mrs. Bandaranaike's return. The only options left were covert action and coercive diplomacy i.e. training and arming the Tamil separatist-guerrillas and using the reasonable argument of 'spill-over effects' (Tamilnadu) to legitimise coercive diplomacy – the instant arrival of Narasinha Rao, External Affairs Minister, in Colombo to be followed by the pressures of the Parthasarthy diplomatic exercise the first phase.

The advent of the Rajiv regime showed a softening of the Indian attitude, with the LTTE recognised as a dangerous 'actor'. Thus, the reply to the LTTE in the form of other India-backed military groups, especially the EPRLF. Along with that, the JRJ government was gradually adopting a new posture, influenced by (a) failure of the military option. Vadamaarachi, identified with Lalith Athulathmudali, the National Security Minister and (b) economic-diplomatic pressure within the Cabinet, identified with Finance Minister, Ronnie de Mel (IMF-World Bank-donors) and Mahaveli Minister (the pro-Indian) peacenik, Gamini Dissanayake, and (c) mounting Indian pressure plus friendly persuasion (Dixit, N. Ram etc).

Nepal, the only other neighbour, comparable in a way to Sri Lanka, was following a precarious policy of counter-balance i.e., relying on China and the US as counterweight to India. Delhi's reaction, (Rajiv) was an economic squeeze choking off the land-locked Nepal and political pressure via pro-Indian opposition groups to 'soften up' King Birendra through an agitational pro-democracy campaign that swept the streets of Kathmandu. The advent of the Premadasa government coincided with the political crisis in Delhi – two minority governments V.P. Singh and Chandra Sekhar, the second hobbling along on Congress support until Rajiv Gandhi was ready for a general election.

Regime Change

Persistent demands for the withdrawal of the IPKF and talks by the Premadasa government with the LTTE were received with poorly suppressed irritation, if not anger, by the Congress and Foreign Policy establishment in Delhi. Given his publicly declared 'good neighbour' policy priority, Prime Minister V.P. Singh negotiated the IPKF's pull-out .... on Indian terms. It is during Mr. Singh's tenure that India's relations with Nepal also improved markedly.

Indian Options

With the imminent collapse of the Chandra Sekhar government, the Congress needed to craft a new Sri Lanka policy – how to deal with the Premadasa regime in the context of a Rajiv return. *To a Delhi policy-planner the only practical realistic choice was a critical weakening of the Sri Lankan government, not an ouster by democratic means (the provincial council polls were not a good sign) nor a move by the armed forces.* The SLFP, under Indira, was the preferred option. Not any more. *First, there was the SLFP's Sinhala Buddhist* constituency-bound thinking on the Indo-Sri Lanka 'Accord' and any serious quasi-federal devolution essay was simply not on. Apart from that, the possibilities of a *regime-change through democratic instrumentalities, were slim.*

Any intelligent South Block-wallah, and there are heaps out there, would however have noted an advantage which may compensate for the inherently narrow limits on operational choices. In recent times, Sri Lanka has increasingly come within range of Human Rights sharp-shooters, and become in fact a target gradually of NGOs, the donor agencies, and some members of the AID Group, European and Commonwealth. This is the brief history of the issue from the ghastly Richard de Zoysa murder to l'affaire Gladstone. *The idea is to punish the regime, teach it a lesson, rather than to overthrow it.*

The government after all is working well within the IMF-World Bank framework (the more important test) and has held and won too many elections to qualify reasonably for the hard option of have-ho, C.I.A.-style earlier. If in the business of 'punishing' the regime, some constitutional-political changes can also be introduced (such as opening up the centralised system, encouraging freer discussion and debate, in the media for example) so much the better.

US Policy

The minority Congress government is overwhelmed by a rare conjuncture of crises, political, economic and security. Thus the agonies of the IMF-imposed adjustment, popular protest over various issues, armed violence and burgeoning insurgencies, the serious threat in Kashmir and the confrontation with Pakistan, caste and class conflicts, the collapse of the Indo-Soviet relationship and search for a new foreign policy – defence framework. All this affords the bureaucracy together with not-so overt agencies, a much larger freedom to *make* policy. But can India play the old-style regional hegemonic role at the risk of alienating the single superpower? Although small, Sri Lanka will also prove an interesting test of the new emerging Indo-US relationship – itself a test of how the sole superpower will relate to major regional powers, the division of responsibility and influence in the context of regional conflict and conflict-resolution. (Even the large collective, the E.C., has not been too successful in the experiment in Yugoslavia).

The notoriously outsize Sri Lankan ego sometimes accommodates the flattering thought that if the lights in the White House burn late or Messrs Baker and Scowcroft are holed up in the basement, their labours are somehow connected to some ruckus in Sri Lanka. The only useful corrective to such idle vanities is to give a schoolroom globe a fast spin and try to spot Sri Lanka as it turns.

Right now, in any case, the only crisis that concentrates the minds of President Bush, Mr. Baker and their top aides is the Arab-Israeli issue, where the superhawk, General Arik Sharon has created more problems for Mr. Bush by organising overflights to Iraq that have angered Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, all important to the success of the Baker mission. Prime Minister Shamir is determined to sabotage the Bush initiative one way or the other. He may even dissolve Parliament.

Jewish Lobby

Shamir is not the only enemy that Mr. Bush faces. The enemy within is more powerful. The Jewish Lobby could damage his campaign for a second term, the dream of every President.

One of the leading lights of the Jewish Lobby is Congressman Stephen Solarz, chairman of the Congress Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs. In his book *They Dare to Speak Out*, Paul Findley, who was a US Congressman for 22 years, says: 'Stephen J. Solarz, a hard-working Congressman who represents a heavily Jewish district in Brooklyn (New York) prides himself on accomplishing many good things for ISRAEL. Since his first election in 1974, Solarz established a reputation as an 'intelligent eager beaver', widely travelled, aggressive and totally committed to Israel's interests. In committee, he seems always bursting with the next question before the witness responds to his first. . .'

I have had two brief conversations with Mr. Solarz and about his brilliance and combative vigour, especially on any matter connected with Israel, there could be little doubt. The last trip he did to Colombo was to try to persuade President Premadasa to change his mind on closing the Israeli interests section. He failed.

A few years back, he tried to get Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to agree to raising Indian-Israeli relations now very low-level, to Embassy status or at least Consul-General in Delhi. He did not succeed. One of those actively canvassing support for the same cause was Dr. Subramanium Swamy, leader of the Samajawadi Party, and the man who told *India Abroad* paper in Washington that it was he who used his Harvard contact (he is visiting professor) to get David Kimche, the Director-General of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, to channel Israeli assistance to the LTTE, including expertise in landmines, as we now know from Viktor Ostrovski and *Jane's Defence Weekly*. It was Dr. Swamy's party that organised a demonstration at the Sri Lankan High Commission office in Delhi the other day. It was Dr. Swamy who introduced US LTTE fund-raisers to Bnai Brith the powerful Jewish body.

The Jewish lobby consists not only of top US politicians but eminent academics powerful businessmen and fund-raisers and US officials including ranking diplomats.

Mr. Gamini Dissanayake, who was not educated at Oxford or Harvard, may not know Dr. Subramanium Swamy since he has no connections as far as I know with Cambridge where the former Mahaveli Minister follows a post-graduate course.

Rogue Operations

If the real objective was regime-change (i.e. a non-UNP option) then the sole beneficiary would have been Mrs. Bandaranaike, the SLFP and its allies, all generally supportive of Indian policy but aggressively anti-Israel. People forget that Mrs. Bandaranaike shut down the Israeli legation in 1960 and made the first statement on President JR's announcement to open 'an Interests Section' on July 1 1984 to the L.G. As against Mrs. Bandaranaike's statements in and out of Parliament, and the statements of Messrs Anura Bandaranaike, Lakshman Jayakody and Haleem Ishak, the only UNP Minister to match them both in number and pro-Israeli vehemence was National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali *not* Mahaveli Minister Gamini Dissanayake. He was later a key figure in Indo-Lanka negotiations and a 'fellow traveller' so to say, with Mr. Anura Bandaranaike to Delhi for the funeral of an Indian leader (Mr. Rajiv Gandhi) who both knew very well. If Mr. Dissanayake, has excellent credentials in Delhi, Mr. Athulathmudali has had close links with ISRAEL.

It is sections of the Indian press, chiefly Madras-based, that have laboured hard to create Delhi-Colombo tensions, not Prime Minister Rao nor the Foreign Minister nor top officials on the LTTE and Rajiv murder, and on SAARC. The only exception is party leader Dr. Subramaniam Swamy. Both attempts were soon de-fused but damage had been done via a neat Colombo-Madras-Delhi-Colombo circuit which any foreign correspondent or senior journalist can easily recognise. The same may hold good for Colombo-London of course.

That is why I think that the ARAB LEAGUE and PLO's Yassar Arafat, both greatly encouraged by the bold BUSH-BAKER Middle-East diplomacy, decided to give a helping hand to a besieged Colombo regime. The Islamic states, Pakistan and Iran, the two most important in this region, teamed up with the Arab League.

At least one influential Indian paper, has raised the issue of how much autonomy is exercised by sundry Indian agencies when the Central government is weak, far too deeply immersed in politics, or is clearly a transitional administration.

These are questions more frequently and doggedly pursued by the U.S. media, now excited over the revelations of the Senate Gates inquiry Mr. Gates is the President's nominee for CIA chief. The number of 'rogue' operations, clandestine work without the permission or the knowledge of governments and elected representatives, is staggering indeed. As democratic ideals spread across the world, it is possible that democracy and even inter-state understanding and cooperation are being subverted by men and agencies not answerable to the people.

With the superpower struggle over and the US-funded insurgencies in Afghanistan irrelevant, the US sees South Asia and the Indo-Pak conflict in a different light. As Pran Chopra notes that is clear from the paper on 'National Security Strategy' that President Bush presented to Congress recently. Spelling out this strategy in much greater detail, the senior US official in charge of the foreign policy/defence planning for the region, Richard Haas who works in the White House, emphasises the need for discussing regional and global security issues with India. The US visit of Indian Army Chief and the reciprocal Pentagon gesture prompted the *Hindu* to note editorially:

'Though the Pressler Amendment intended to disqualify Pakistan's eligibility for US military and economic aid, and the backing India is getting from Mr. Stephen Solarz, do not indicate a change in US perceptions, not many in India could still seriously believe that the US would yet begin to discard an ally in the sub-continent, and make matters easier for India'.

Solarz has attacked Pakistan on another issue. On Oct. 3 Solarz warned Pakistan that relations could 'freeze' if Pakistan carried out a sentence passed by a Rawalpindi court on two Muslim Americans.

Domestic Problems

Democracies are more prone to internal differences and conflicts than one-party states. At least the differences are more visible. Minority regimes in large democracies like India find it difficult to conceal such tension, including the contest for leadership. *Is Rao all that secure? Are younger, more ambitious men advancing their own interests? Are the bureaucracy and agencies, such as the Foreign Office and RAW, totally loyal to him or in total agreement with him?* Is ambition, whether at the highest levels of the party of officialdom, a factor that decides policy, including foreign policy? The SRI LANKA issue of course is never exclusively foreign. At least it concerns TAMILNADU. The Indian Establishment is running scared about the long leap of the 'Tiger'.

After all, there is now a separatist – terrorist movement styled 'Liberation Tigers of Khalistan'. Chief Minister Jayalalitha jumps like a terrified pussy cat when Prabhakaran's name is mentioned. Delhi's defence analysts talk of the 'exposed southern flank' of India – the enemy here is not Pakistan or China but the LTTE.

Continued on page 18

Amnesty International

Human Rights Violations in North-East Sri Lanka

(Continued from last issue)

4 HUMAN RIGHTS AND ARMED CONFLICT

In situations of armed conflict fundamental human rights cannot be ignored. 'Disappearances' and the deliberate killing of prisoners or other defenceless individuals cannot be justified in any circumstances. International human rights law makes clear that certain fundamental rights – in particular the right to life and the right not to be subjected to torture – must be upheld by governments at all times and in all circumstances. Killings by members of the armed opposition can never provide justification for government forces to deliberately kill defenceless people. Nor can they justify the enforced 'disappearance' or torture of prisoners in the custody of government forces.

In situations of armed conflict, fundamental human rights must be protected with extra vigilance. Under Article 4 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), to which the Government of Sri Lanka acceded in 1980, there can be no derogations from the duty to uphold the right to life and the right to freedom from torture in any circumstances, even 'in time of public emergency which threatens the life of the nation'. Article 6 of the ICCPR asserts the right to life, a right which the United Nations (UN) Human Rights Committee[3] has said 'should not be interpreted narrowly'. The UN Human Rights Committee has described the protection against arbitrary deprivation of life in Article 6 as being 'of paramount importance'. It has stressed the need for governments to 'take measures not only to prevent and punish deprivation of life by criminal acts, but also to prevent arbitrary killing by their own security forces.'

For these principles to be upheld, force may of course be used by government forces – so long as it is necessary and regulated, and is proportionate to the demands of the situation. The killing as a direct consequence of engagement between parties to an armed conflict may be necessary and does not in and of itself constitute a human rights violation. Similarly, Amnesty International does not address in a general way the issue of military tactics, and nor does it raise as a human rights violation deaths caused accidentally through cross-fire. The killings which Amnesty International raises with governments are those which appear to be deliberate killings of defenceless people, whether they are civilians or combatants incapacitated by injuries or who have surrendered and offer no resistance. Such killings are often committed in reprisal attacks on particular localities several hours or days after murders by the armed opposition, for example, or committed after people have been taken prisoner.

Similar principles, prohibiting the killing of defenceless people and torture, are found in international humanitarian law dealing with armed conflict. Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949[4] stipulates that each party to a conflict which is not of an international character must apply the following minimum standards:

'(1) Persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of armed forces who have laid down their arms and those placed *hors de combat* by sickness, wounds, detention, or any other cause, shall in all circumstances be treated humanely. . . .'

With respect to these categories of people, Common Article 3 prohibits:

'(a) Violence to life and person, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture;

(b) taking of hostages;

(c) outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment;

(d) the passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without previous judgment pronounced by a regularly constituted court, affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognized as indispensable by civilized peoples.'

5 AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S POSITION ON ABUSES COMMITTED BY NON-GOVERNMENTAL GROUPS

Amnesty International's work is based on international human rights law, which is addressed to governments. Amnesty International urges governments to uphold their international obligations to protect human rights. The organization does not generally address non-governmental groups in this manner. It does, however, as a matter of principle, consistently condemn the torture and killing of prisoners by non-governmental groups. Furthermore, when such a group takes control of territory such that the population has no access to government channels for redress, Amnesty International does address that group and hold it responsible for the abuses it has committed. Amnesty International has, for example, several times called upon the LTTE to halt its practices of holding prisoners in *incommunicado* detention, of killing and torturing prisoners, and of killing defenceless people, including prisoners and civilians.

6 HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BY GOVERNMENT FORCES AND ALLIED GROUPS

Those cited as responsible for committing human rights violations on the government side include members of the military, the police and the Special Task Force (STF, a police commando unit). In some areas of the east, members of unidentified groups who wear plain clothes and use unmarked vehicles have also been cited. These people seem to operate in much the same manner as the plainclothes 'death squads' linked to government forces which were a feature of the recent counter-insurgency drive against the JVP in the south[5].

Other forces opposed to the LTTE have also been cited as responsible for committing abuses. The government has assisted the creation of armed groups within the civilian populations, such as the Muslim home guards, and has also mobilised the armed cadres of anti-LTTE militant Tamil groups to assist in its campaign against the LTTE. Sometimes members of these groups appear to be used as proxies for the regular security forces, committing abuses which the security forces ignore, and for which members of the security forces cannot be held directly responsible.

The armed cadres of several Tamil groups opposed to the LTTE are deployed in different areas under army control. Members of the Eelam People's Democratic Party (EPDP) work with the army in Kayts, and also identify and hand over LTTE suspects to the security forces in Colombo, where they have been delegated official responsibilities in certain refugee camps. Members of the People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) operate in Vavuniya; in Batticaloa, members of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO) are deployed. The following number of these cadres have been armed by the army, according to the Secretary of the Ministry of Defence: 112 TELO, 146 PLOTE and approximately the same number of EPDP cadres. Amnesty International was told by the authorities that they are operating under direct military command.

Muslim home guards were provided with arms by the government in August 1990, after the LTTE had killed hundreds of Muslims in the east, including 103 worshippers in two mosques at Kattankudy, Batticaloa District on 3 August 1990. In Moneragala District, village defence units were set up among Sinhala villagers in April 1991 after attacks by the LTTE in which about 40 people were reportedly killed, including women and children. The government policy of arming civilian groups in the east appears to have contributed to an intensification of violence in the area; tensions between and within communities have been exacerbated. The number of (mainly Sinhalese) home guards along the borders with the Northeastern Province is 23,000. They are said to function under control of the local police and to be provided with weapons during the night only. In June 1991, the Secretary of the Minister of Defence put the number of Muslims armed at approximately 2,000. He said that they have been provided with arms by the army and technically should not be considered home guards, although they perform similar functions.

The arming of civilian groups by the government appears to repeat the practice which occurred in the south during the campaign against the JVP, when the government distributed weapons for self-defence to home guards and to politicians for their bodyguards. In response to a recommendation made in the report of the Presidential Commission on Youth[6] that the state should take 'decisive action' to halt the activities of 'paramilitary organizations and shadowy vigilante groups' in the south, the government has attempted to recall the many weapons it had issued to politicians. This effort has met with only partial success. In the northeast, however, the government has continued to distribute weapons to home guards after attacks on civilians by the LTTE, and new 'death squads' have appeared in the east, believed to be drawn from or associated with the security forces, which pursue the same tactics as those which operated against the JVP in the south. Some press reports have indicated that home guards who abuse their positions would be disciplined by the military commander of their area, but Amnesty International is not aware of the procedures employed, or whether any disciplinary cases have been followed through. All that seems to happen in cases of such abuse is that the weapons are taken from the particular home guard involved.

6.1 The relationship between home guards and the security forces

Muslims collaborating with the security forces are reported to have provided lists of Tamil people for the security forces to target as terrorist suspects, including several Tamil government employees and other educated Tamil people. Local rivalries are believed to have found expression in the creation of these lists, and potential leaders within the Tamil community are reported to have been targeted. For example, a local human rights organization has reported that many of the approximately 37 Tamil people extrajudicially executed in Akkaraipattu soon after government forces moved in June 1990 were government employees. In Karaitivu, the same organization reported that about 26 educated Tamil people were targeted, and put into a room where all but three were killed. Amnesty International does not know the names of these victims.

The following extract from a report by a local human rights organization illustrates both the attitude of the security forces to prisoners, and the relationship between the security forces and sections of the Muslim community in the east:

'When the STF came into a town [in the east] in mid June, most of the people fled elsewhere, though the public servants largely remained. A very senior public servant was pulled out of his office by the STF. An STF man asked his officer . . . whether to finish him off there itself. The officer replied, 'He is a big man, it is not nice to finish him here.' The public servant waited in the grounds with his captors for the arrival of a South African Buffel armoured car, which was to take him to his execution. In the meantime a Muslim mob arrived and heaped accusations against him, to the effect that he was a terrorist. The OIC [Officer in Charge] asked them to take him and finish him off. Some Muslims came with wooden poles in order to beat him to death. A Muslim teacher well disposed towards him saved him by telling the mob: "The STF took him. It is their business to finish him off. Why do you want to take on the Muslims the blame for finishing this man?" The mob had second thoughts and went away.

'Shortly afterwards the Buffel arrived. Just then a jeep arrived with an STF officer having the rank of Assistant Superintendent (ASP), who inquired who the intended victim was. . . . The ASP then promptly took him away, left him in a church with some biscuits and aerated water, and thus saved his life."[7]

Muslim home guards are also reported to have detained Tamil people themselves, and then handed them over to the police. Four teachers from Veeramunai – Thirunavukkarasu, Ravi, Rasan and Illankeswaran – were trying to reach Thirukkovil by van to join their families. The four were refugees, staying in Kallaru and Thurainilavanai. They were stopped by Muslim home guards on or about 15 September 1990 and handed to the police. When inquiries were made about their wherabouts, an official indicated that two of the four were alleged to belong to the LTTE and that further inquiries would be useless. Such a response is usually understood to mean that the people concerned have been killed.

Another person reported to have 'disappeared' after being detained by Muslim home guards and handed to the police is Kalanithy, a refugee from Pottuvil who was staying at Thirukkovil. Kalanithy returned to Pottuvil on 5 October 1990 to collect money which was owed to him. On the way, he was taken by two home guards and put into a police jeep parked in a lane. Inquiries about his whereabouts were made with the STF, but no information was forthcoming. An STF officer is reported to have said that the police in Pottuvil had killed 160 Tamils, but he did not specify whether Kalanithy was among them.

6.2 'Disappearances' and extrajudicial executions

Over 3,000 Tamil people are reported to have 'disappeared' in the custody of government forces in the east since June 1990. Most of the case material collected by Amnesty International relates to the second half of 1990. That such serious abuses have continued well into 1991 is confirmed, however, by recent reports in the Sri Lankan and the international press as well as from other sources. The number of 'disappearances' and extrajudicial executions reported since the beginning of 1991 amounts to several hundred.

'Disappearances' and extrajudicial executions have been reported in large number from several districts in the east since government forces moved in. By October 1990, some 3,000 Tamil people were estimated to have been killed or to have 'disappeared' in Amparai District alone during the previous four months. Many of these people were believed to have been victims of extrajudicial execution. In Batticaloa town, over 1,500 people were reported as 'disappeared' between June and December 1990 to the local Peace Committee. Similarly, large numbers of 'disappearances' and extrajudicial executions have also been reported from Trincomalee. Amnesty International has also collected reports of extrajudicial executions and 'disappearances' in Vavuniya, Mannar and Kayts.

Victims of extrajudicial execution have reportedly been shot, bayonetted, stabbed, hacked or beaten to death. Some were said by witnesses to have been burnt alive. Many people were apparently detained or killed because they had contact with the members of the LTTE, sometimes of the most minimal kind during the period the LTTE controlled the area.

Prisoners taken by the security forces have not been the only victims of extrajudicial execution. Reports indicate that such killings have been committed in various contexts. Refugees have been killed in refugee camps; individuals have been killed in their homes; villages have been attacked in reprisal for attacks committed by the LTTE in the area; passengers have been taken from buses and killed. Such attacks have not always been committed by members of the security forces themselves: home guards have been cited as responsible in several instances. Even when not directly involved themselves, in some cases there is evidence indicating the acquiescence or collaboration of the security forces in such attacks by other parties.

On 17 February 1991, for example, after 45 soldiers from the Vijayabahu regiment had been killed by the LTTE in an ambush at Kondaichchi, near Mannar, army personnel from the same regiment were reported to have killed four Tamil schoolteachers who were travelling from Mannar. Their bodies were found dumped in a well at Vankalai.

Again, on 30 March 1991, after the LTTE had opened fire on a police patrol at Iruthayapuram, Batticaloa, killing one policeman, eleven bodies were reportedly found on the roadside. Some of the victims had apparently been hacked to death, but at least one had a gunshot wound. According to a report in *Virakesari*, Colombo, of 2 April 1991, several people who passed the place where the police officer had been killed were detained by the police. The report says that the bodies, which were recovered by members of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), were those of people who had been detained. Most were reported to be young men from the Iruthayapuram area. Amnesty International does not know their names. One survivor among them was reportedly taken to hospital by the ICRC. Seven bodies were later handed to their relatives after post mortems had been held. *Virakesari* reported on 11 April 1991 that 60 officers from Iruthayapuram police station had been transferred to Amparai.

[3] The Human Rights Committee is the body set up under the ICCPR to monitor implementation of the covenant's provisions. See General Comment 6(16) of the Human Rights Committee.

[4] The Government of Sri Lanka ratified the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 in 1959. In February 1988 the LTTE informed the United Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross that it would abide by the provisions of the Geneva Conventions and the Optional Protocols I and II.

[5] See *Sri Lanka: Extrajudicial Executions, 'Disappearances' and Torture, 1987-1990,* (AI Index: ASA 37/21/90), September 1990, for the evidence Amnesty International provided linking these plainclothes armed groups in the south to the security forces.

[6] *Report of the Presidential Commission on Youth*, Sessional Paper No. 1, March 1990.

[7] Extract from *The War and its Consequences in the Amparai District*, University Teachers for Human Rights (Jaffna), Special Report No. 3, 16 October 1990.

(To be continued).

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UNITED KINGDOM

Asylum Bill Seeks to Initiate Tough New Measures

by Sanjay Suri

LONDON – A new asylum bill published by the Home Office in Britain sets tough new controls over asylum seekers. The bill was introduced in Parliament on Nov. 1.

More than 60,000 asylum claims have been pending over the last two years. Home Secretary Kenneth Baker has announced that he would increase staff dealing with these cases from 120 to 550 to clear the backlog.

About 300 staff have already been recruited, Baker said in an accompanying statement. Most cases will now be cleared within 90 days of application, Baker said.

Among the applicants whose cases have piled up in a backlog are an estimated 3,000 Indians, mostly from Punjab.

300 Detention Centers

Baker has also ordered the establishment of another 300 detention centers to house suspect applicants.

The bill seeks to 'accelerate and simplify decision-making in asylum cases.' The Home Office says the new measures would 'strengthen safeguards for genuine refugees but reduce the scope for others to misuse the asylum process.'

The bill provides for a new right of appeal before removal for all applicants refused asylum. The appeals will be heard by special adjudicators appointed for the purpose by the Lord Chancellor. In all 26 new adjudicators are being appointed to handle appeals.

But the bill says that 'no appeal may be brought without the leave of a special adjudicator, and there is no appeal from the refusal of leave.'

An appeal can be made 'on a point of law' to the Court of Appeal or Court of Sessions, from a final determination of the Immigration Appeal Tribunal. A spokeswoman at the Immigration Office is reported as saying that this could be invoked by applicants who had doubts, for example, that strict legal procedures had been followed.

But 'leave to bring the appeal is required from the Tribunal or, if the Tribunal refuses leave, from the Court of Appeal or the Court of Session.'

'Ensure a Quick Hearing'

The bill sets out strict time limits to 'ensure a quick hearing for those who are detained or whose cases are clearly unfounded.' With this the government will acquire new powers to cut short the stay of someone already in the UK who claims, and is refused asylum.

About a quarter of refugee seekers have in the past been given asylum in Britain. The Home Office says more than half are given Exceptional Leave to Remain (ELR) for 12 months in the first instance. But it says 'the high rate of use also reflects the difficulty of enforcing departure within the current system.' Now an asylum-seeker who is already in the UK on some other visa can have his period of stay under that visa cut short if he is refused asylum.

The new bill also provides that where a decision has been taken to deport a person whose leave has been so curtailed, the Seretary of State may order his detention pending deportation.

The Government will get powers under the bill to fingerprint asylum applicants 'to stop the growing number who claim asylum in more than one name.' The applicant will have to attend for fingerprinting. If he does not, the bill empowers an immigration officer or constable to arrest such a person without warrant.

(Courtesy, *India Abroad*).

HOSTAGE AT HOME REFUGEE ABROAD

by Jayan Deivendra

Professor Branko Horvath of Croatia, a bitter critic of the Serbian and Croatian regimes, reacting to the European Community's economic pressure on Yugoslavia, said that the people in the West do not understand the mentality of East Europeans. The West including Britain which has shown considerable anxiety over events in Croatia appear also not to understand such problems elsewhere.

If Britain, which failed the Tamils when independence was granted to Sri Lanka, had taken a similar stand against the Colombo government, the country's ethnic problem may have been solved by now and there would have been no need for the Tamils to seek refuge in Britain.

Tamils, like most people, prefer to live in their own homeland and not as refugees elsewhere. Let Britain demand from the Government of Sri Lanka that the rights of the Sri Lankan Tamils be placed on par with that of the Sinhalese instead of allowing disreputable British tabloids to misrepresent the Tamil problem and use it with mischievous intent as racist fodder to serve the interests of the Tory party now threatened with political oblivion at the next General Election.

A poll among Tamil Sri Lankans in the UK will certainly show that large numbers of them will opt to return if their rights are guaranteed and they are allowed to live with dignity and pride in their homeland.

Tamil refugees anywhere – not just in the UK alone – constitute a very minimal number and they are certainly not economic refugees. Very few of them are a burden on any state. In their own country they are hostages and the entire community struggles under circumstances of terror and total lack of amenities. They are victims of Colombo's continued aggression and the forces it has spawned in consequence.

The Mail published a mischievous letter in its issue of 7 November following another one a few days earlier, both illustrated with photographs like the Tory by-election leaflet at Langbaurgh. This kind of journalism is crude, utterly cheap, obscene and indeed most sickening. Both *The Mail* and the writer of the letter, Mr. Robinson appear to have forgotten the contribution Sri Lankans made during the last World War at the peril of Japanese invasion with two British bases on their soil, one of them being the South-east Asia Command Headquarters in Trincomalee in the Tamil homeland.

Recently, when a little girl was savagely mauled by a 'pet' terror dog, it was a Sri Lankan Tamil doctor who saved her life with his unique professional skill and his personal warmth and concern. The likes of him serve in many parts of this country with total dedication.

The Mail naturally reflects the desperation of the Tory government which evidently believes that Britain should only be a Tory governed state. On 31 October 1991, no other newspaper thought it fit to give any prominence to the judgment of the European Court of Human Rights on the case of five Tamils. *The Mail* alone screamed in banner headline: TAMIL BAN – BUT STILL THEY STAY. *The Mail's* editor should have surely known that the Tamils constitute a very small number of immigrants in this country but are among the most vulnerable ones too.

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In the Langbaurgh by-election campaign, it appears there has been a racist undertone in the Tory campaign. It would be recalled in the 1964 General Election, the Tory candidate won a very safe Labour seat by resorting to an 'undisguised racist campaign'.

Certainly Tory government proposals in the recent Queen's Speech, the last one before the General Election, have already been described as naked, blatant incitement against the non-whites of this country. It would be seen that whenever certain measures are sought to control the flood of 'illegal immigrants' or 'bogus refugees' there is one stark racist idea canvassed and that is, as described by one weekly, 'some people are less desirable here than others, some people are not desirable here at all'.

A campaigning weekly described the Tories supported by their press as 'presenting themselves as the natural party of the back street racist and the envious bigot. They are deliberately stirring up feelings against immigrants – not those who may want to come in to Britain now, but those who have been here for decades and their offspring, in the hope that it will boost their vote and help them win the 1992 general election'.

The Tory leaflet in the Langbaurgh by-election carried a picture of the Labour leader Neil Kinnock and Dr. Ashok Kumar with a slogan '. . . don't ask the men who scare . . .'.

However, despite all these efforts, it goes to the credit of the British public that Dr. Ashok Kumar was elected from a Tory-held seat. The Tories should not also forget that in Smethwick too, the electors, when the next election came around, threw out the member who fought on a racist platform.

In respect of Sri Lanka, the Colombo government is seeking an aid of US$ 1,000 from the Aid Group Sessions scheduled to be held in Paris in February next year. But right at this very moment Tamils in their homeland in Sri Lanka have been surrounded by the government forces and thousands of them have been ordered to abandon their homes and seek refuge in temples to facilitate the bombing of their homesteads.

The Tigers have a solution of their own around their necks, cyanide capsules, should any of them be captured but they do not expect the Tamils en masse to commit suicide.

The Tamils have to live – and live with dignity. There is always hope for any race if it has the guts and courage to face any circumstances. Let the Government of Great Britain demand from aid agencies that sanctions be placed against Colombo until the rights of the Tamils are enshrined.

The Sri Lankan Tamils who have sought asylum in the West are not economic refugees. They were hostages in their own country who were able to escape terror.

Let not Britain fail the Tamils. It is unfortunate that the Tory government has not thought it fit to champion the cause of a community from which a number of professionals serve this country. Furthermore, it is important that whatever Tiger actions that have been critically viewed be seen only in the larger context of the desperately critical circumstances in which the Tamils find themselves in their own homeland.

Prime Minister John Major, in the case of the Kurds insisted that they be 'given the minimum protection of air cover, backed by a visible will to use it, until they are no longer threatened by the terror machine of Saddam Hussein.' (*Daily Telegraph* 21.10.91).

Sri Lankan Tamils too face a similar situation and the Colombo forces are poised for a genocide now. Let Britain tell Colombo to halt its devious and dastardly plans immediately and canvass the world community to ensure that sense and sanity returns to Sri Lanka and the Tamils be allowed to live with pride and dignity in their own homeland.

This will, at least to some extent, remove Britain's undue anxiety about 'bogus asylum seekers' at least from Sri Lanka.

Continued from page 13

Was Prime Minister Narasimha Rao 'misquoted' (innocently? deliberately?) on the Rajiv assassination? How was it that the *Hindu* correspondent in Delhi (too shy suddenly to have his name in print) promoted the story that the Prime Minister would NOT attend the SAARC summit. Those who know all about the veteran G.K. Reddy's 'special relationship' with South Block and how skilfully he handled it would have been taken aback by this clumsy exercise.

(Courtesy of *Lanka Guardian*.)

Continued from page 10

Mr. Rao commended the Tamil Nadu Government for having acquired 12-19 acres of land for erecting a national memorial for Rajiv Gandhi at the place where he was assassinated. It would be a fitting memorial where the people could gather, search their souls and get some peace of mind and also try to mould their lives in the mould of the former Prime Minister. The memorial would remind the people of how Rajiv Gandhi loved his country.

The Prime Minister said Rajiv Gandhi was a 'yuga purusha' and a champion of communal harmony and spirit of brotherhood. He led the oppressed people of the country and gave them hope for a better future. He had friendliest and closest contacts with all leaders of the world.

Mr Rao thanked Ms. Jayalalitha for contributing Rs. 12 lakhs on behalf of the AIADMK for providing succour to those rendered homeless by the earthquake in Uttar Pradesh.

Ms. Jayalalitha said that what was heartrending was that Rajiv Gandhi who wanted to root out all the evil forces from the soil of Tamil Nadu and see a good government in the State was not alive to see it now. Though the explosive device that killed Rajiv Gandhi was of a foreign origin the fact that it was assembled with local collaborators made the people of Tamil Nadu hang their heads in shame. The people of the State now realised the role of such culprits and they would not give room for such forces to carry out horrendous acts any more.

She assured the Prime Minister that the alliance between her party and the Congress(I) would never be allowed to be snapped and the AIADMK Government would extend all support to the Centre in implementing the welfare measures for the benefit of the people.

GRENADE ATTACK ON REBEL-UNP MEETING

At least eleven civilians were wounded, one of them seriously, on 2 November when a grenade was thrown directly at the stage and into the crowd attending a public meeting held by the rebel UNP group led by former Ministers, Lalith Athulathmudali and Gamini Dissanayake at Pannala in the Kuliyapitiya area.

The rebel UNP group has been holding largely attended public meetings in various parts of Sri Lanka ever since the motion was submitted to impeach President Premadasa. Although the impeachment move failed, the rebels continue to hold meetings lambasting the President.

Those who were at the meeting identified the assailant as a driver of a local politician, but the police have said that they have yet to identify him. Former Labour Minister, G.M. Premachandra who resigned from the cabinet after signing the impeachment motion was addressing the crowd and all the rebel leaders were on the stage when the bomb attack occurred.

Continued on page 23

THE SUB-CONTINENTAL SCENE

ELECTIONS

★ The by-elections to be held on 16 November for fifteen parliamentary seats in the Indian parliament and 58 assembly seats covering 25 States have assumed more than the usual significance as far as by-elections go. They will provide an opportunity to test the popularity of not only the six-month old minority Congress-I government of Prime Minister Narasimha Rao, but also the faction-ridden opposition parties, V.P. Singh's Janatha Dal, BJP and the Left Front.

The main electoral confrontation is centred in the Hindi-speaking heartland of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and to some extent in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. As the Janatha Dal is embroiled in internal squabbles and factional fighting and a growing challenge to V.P Singh's leadership, the main battle seems to be between the ruling Congress and the Bharatiya Janatha Party. And in the Nandyal constituency in Andhra Pradesh Prime Minister Rao seems to be home and dry in winning the seat where once powerful regional Telegu Desam Party, Janatha Dal and the BJP have not even fielded candidates.

Mrs. Sonia Gandhi's categorical refusal to enter the election fray by contesting her late husband's Amethi constituency has removed the uncertainty over Narasimha Rao's leadership of the Congress and in fact the Premiership. The possibility of Sonia's entry into politics had in fact given rise to the perception that Mr. Rao was a stop-gap Prime Minister. Sonia's decision may have genuinely disappointed many in the country and dashed the hopes of those in the party who sought to use her to advance their positions within the Congress, but it has helped to strengthen Narasimha Rao with more authority within the party and enable him to adopt a more assertive approach to the problems facing the country. Commentators believe that Sonia's decision to stay out does not mean an end to the role of the Gandhi family in Indian politics and they predict future roles 'at the appropriate time' for the still young Rahul and Priyanka Gandhi.

Rao's Landslide Win

As we go to press, it has been announced that the Indian Prime Minister, Narasinha Rao, has won in his Nandyal constituency in Andhra Pradesh with a stunning unprecedented majority of half a million votes.

The Indira Gandhi Award for National Integration posthumously given to Rajiv Gandhi was received by Sonia Gandhi on 31 October at a solemn and moving ceremony in New Delhi. The award which carries a cash prize of Rs.100,000 (£4,000) and a citation was given to the still grieving Sonia by Prime Minister Narasimha Rao. In a rare and perhaps first ever speech in a public function since her husband's untimely demise, Sonia said that it was a sad turn of fate that an award named after the mother should be conferred upon her son so soon after inception. She announced that she was donating the cash to the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation.

TEMPLE-MOSQUE DISPUTE

★ The issue of the Ram Temple at Ayodhya has been brought to the forefront by the BJP-VHP-RSS combine with inspired Hindu extremists gathered near the disputed temple site on October 31 in an apparent attempt to commemorate last year's violent incidents when the police took steps to prevent the storming of a mosque which the Hindu demonstrators claimed as the temple of Ram of a bygone era.

The Bharatiya Janatha Party which led last year's campaign is the ruling party in Uttar Pradesh where the disputed site of the Babri Masjid mosque-Ram Janmabhoomia in Ayodhya is located and the State government's recent action in ordering the acquisition of four plots of land situated in the vicinity of the mosque-temple complex evoked sharp reactions from all political parties. Although the State government claims that the acquisition is for 'public purposes' and to 'promote tourism', and the portion of the acquired land does not include one on which the mosque is situated, observers believe that the real motive is to eventually hand over this land to the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) to enable the construction of the Ram Temple.

In response to a legal challenge mounted by various parties against the acquisition, a special Bench of the Allahabad High Court made an interim order allowing the UP government to take possession of the land but prohibited it from putting up structures of a permanent nature on the land. In an apparent attempt to avoid any counter-action by the central government, the BJP's State Chief Minister assured New Delhi that his government would maintain the status quo.

In low-key and symbolic gesture of protest, prominent leaders of Muslim organisations in the country staged a demonstration on 18 October and courted arrest before the State Secretariat to express their resentment and protest against what they termed 'illegal and unconstitutional activities of the BJP government of Uttar Pradesh including the issuance of recent notifications acquiring some portion of the land of the Babri Masjid and the graveyard around the mosque'. The Muslim leaders appealed to all secular parties and individuals to announce their programme of action to resist and stop 'the illegal activities of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad'.

When the issue came up for discussion at the National Integration Council in Delhi, the Prime Minister pleaded for a national consensus on the dispute which needed to be resolved speedily and amicably and that it was imperative on the part of all to show restraint. He added that the issue was tarnishing India's image abroad and the 141 member Council which comprised all national political parties, regional parties and distinguished persons from various disciplines and professions, was set up with the aim of upholding the unity, integrity and secular character of India.

TAMIL NADU

★ The growing tensions between the Centre and Chief Minister Jayalalitha's government in the southern State of Tamil Nadu would appear to have receded for the present following Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's first visit, after assuming office, to Madras recently. Rao's minority government at the Centre depends much on the continuing support of Tamil Nadu's regional party led by Jayalalitha, the AIADMK which inflicted a crushing defeat upon Karunanidhi's DMK and swept the parliamentary and state polls in June this year.

Among the many causes for the tension was the Centre's decision to refer the Cauvery water dispute between the Tamil Nadu and Karnataka State governments to the Supreme Court, deny the $200 million compensation requested by the State government in replacement of the loss of revenue due to the introduction of partial prohibition and the continued refusal to allow the State government to import much needed palm oil from Malaysia. Jayalalitha was also upset by the Tamil Nadu Congress's opposition to her government's decision to revive the Upper House in the State legislature which was abolished by the previous DMK administration in 1986.

Jayalalitha also had recently called upon the Centre to abrogate the 1974 agreement between India and Sri Lanka which ceded control of the then disputed uninhabited little island of Kachchativu situated between the southern tip of India and Sri Lanka.

Continued on page 21

Veena Arangetram

The London Sri Murugan Temple presented a concert of Veena Arangetram by Selvi Vijayalakshmi daughter of Mr. & Mrs. V.R. Pathmanathan, 'Dhuwarakai', Bishop's Stortford, Essex, on 21.9.91 at the Walthamstow Assembly Hall, under the distinguished patronage of Mr. A.T.S. Ratnasingham, Chief Coordinator of the Wimbledon Ganapathy Temple and Mrs. Ratnasingham.

A student of Srimathi Rudrani Balakrishnan, an exponent of both the western and eastern traditions in music and one who has mastered a number of instruments, Vijayalakshmi is the first Veena student to graduate in this fine arts from the London Sri Murugan Temple under her tutelage.

Her repertoire at this very promising debut performance included a number of popular and ever appreciated pieces such as Vathapi Ganapathim (Hamsadvani), Marubalga (Sri Ranjani), Raguvamsa (Kathanakuthuhalam) and Samajavara gamana. Her accompanying artistes were Sri Muthukumaraswamy Sivarajah, Sri Kandiah Sithampanathan (Morsing), Sri Hiren Chatterjee and Selvi Mayura Mahadevan (Tambura).

Tamil Elected to County Council in Norway

Mr. Kanapathipillai Sivarajah, who hails from Point Pedro and who has been resident in Norway for the last 20 years has been elected an alternative member of the County Council of Troms in Norway. Mr. Sivarajah is a fisheries adviser with the Norwegian Directorate of Fisheries and is the first immigrant from the third world to be elected to this position.

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She wanted India to resume control of the island to protect the interests of Tamil Nadu fishermen who she alleged were being harassed by the Sri Lankan navy.

It would seem that Prime Minister Rao had explained that international agreements between governments could not be scrapped unilaterally and without substantial reasons. He also had agreed to Tamil Nadu government importing palm oil from Malaysia to get over the edible oil crisis in the state.

Participating in a function organised by the State government where he was honoured, Mr. Rao assured that the alliance forged between the Congress and AIADMK by the late Rajiv Gandhi would be valued and never allowed to snap and that every word given by Rajiv to the people of Tamil Nadu would be honoured. Commending the TN government for having acquired nearly 20 acres of land for erecting a national memorial for Rajiv Gandhi at Sriperumbudur where he was assassinated in June this year, he promised that those responsible for the heinous act would be punished.

DIPLOMAT ABDUCTED

★ Four Sikh militant organisations, in a letter signed by G.S. Budhsinghwala, the leader of the Kalistan Liberation Force, have jointly claimed responsibility for the kidnapping of the Rumanian diplomat, Mr. Liviu Radu, in New Delhi on 9 October.

In return for the diplomat's release, the kidnappers have demanded the release of three convicts, Harjinder Singh Jinda, Sukhvinder Singh Sikha and Nirmal Dev Singh Nimma all undergoing terms of imprisonment for the killing of former Army Chief, General A.S. Vaidya in August 1986. Jinda was also charged with the killing of Congress leader Lalit Maken and his wife, while Nimma was accused of the killing of Akali Dal leader H.S. Longowal.

In letters with accompanying photographs showing the diplomat flanked by two armed men delivered to news agencies, the abductors threatened to cut their hostage 'into pieces' if their demand was not met by the government. The deadlines set by the abductors have been extended twice.

Immediately after the abduction, it was speculated that the Rumanian diplomat was being used as a hostage to secure the release of two of the Sikh gunmen who are presently in custody of the Romanian police for the attempted murder of Mr. Julio Ribeiro, former Punjab Director of Police and now India's Ambassador in Rumania.

Four foreign-based Sikh organisations - World Sikh Organisation in America, Sikh Youth of America, Core Organisation and International Sikh Youth Federation – have appealed to the abductors to release the Rumanian diplomat unharmed.

The Rumanian government has again approached the Pakistani government to help secure the release of its diplomat.

Meanwhile violent killings continued to escalate in the Punjab. At least 17 persons, including a local BJP leader, six Sikh militants and police personnel were killed in the seven days preceding 18 October.

On 26 October Sikh separatists killed Punjab Health Services Director Dr. Bachitar Singh, Chief Medical Officer R.N. Goyal and five other employees of the Health Department who were returning after paying obeisance at a Gurdwara. In separate incidents, they set fire to 31 branches of various nationalised and cooperative banks across Punjab.

VIOLENCE

★ Terror struck the peaceful foothill town of Rudhapur in Uttar Pradesh as two bombs exploded one after another killing at least 55 people and injuring over a 100 – one went off in the thick of a performance of the Hindu epic 'Ramayana' on October 17 to mark a religious festival and the other was detonated at a local hospital where victims from the first blast were being brought.

The Director General of Police of Uttar Pradesh attributed the attack to Sikh separatists and blamed Pakistan's Inter Services Intelligence as being the mastermind behind the brutality. He alleged that he had definite information that the ISI was working on creating a religious schism between Hindus and Sikhs. The foothills have a large Sikh population, the majority of whom migrated from Pakistan in 1947 during the partition.

The Home Minister Chavan said that 'this outrage is part of a conspiracy guided from outside our borders to provoke retaliation and disturb communal peace and harmony'. The 'Times of India' in one of its angriest anti-Pakistani editorials said there were 'definite indications that Islamabad is hellbent on spreading subversion beyond Punjab and Kashmir. There is ruthless clarity in their new design – terrorism in the Hindi heartland is expected to create panic, provoke a backlash and add to Hindu-Sikh discord. It must be demonstrated to Pakistan that any master plan for the vivisection of India is an elusive pipedream. Rather than responding in an adhoc way to provocation and internal subversion, India must take the offensive'.

★ As violence continued in Kashmir, Kashmiri militants abducted yet another relative of the Union Parliamentary Affairs Minister, Mr. Gulam Nabi Azad. The victim on this occasion was Mr. B.A. Rather, an Engineer serving in Jammu who had reportedly gone to Sri Nagar to drop his sister-in-law. An amputated human thumb was thrown inside a news agency office in Sri Nagar with the abductors claiming that it belonged to Mr. Tassaduk Dev, another relative of the Minister who was kidnapped previously and held hostage. A militant group known as Laskar Adam kidnapped Bshir Araf, director of the All India Radio station at Leh, Ladakh, from his home on 2 November.

INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

★ India and Pakistan agreed to continue a 'constructive dialogue' to lower tensions and accelerate the process of resolving all outstanding bilateral issues. An understanding to this effect was reached at the two-day foreign secretary-level talks that ended in Islamabad on October 31, in the course of which, among other things, the two countries agreed to discuss a bilateral agreement on banning, development, production, deployment and use of chemical weapons.

During the talks between the Indian Foreign Secretary Muchkund Dubey and his Pakistani counterpart Shahryar, it was agreed to exchange and coordinate information regarding the two countries' nuclear installations and facilities before January 1992.

Further attempts at improving Indo-Pakistan relations were made when Prime Minister Rao and his Pakistani counterpart Nawaz Sharif held discussions during the recently held Commonwealth Heads of State Conference at Harare in Zambia. The two leaders who met for an hour touched on all bilateral matters but would not appear to have dealt with the issue of Kashmir which has bedevilled inter-state relations since 1947. Both leaders agreed that they would sit across the table to sort out 'our differences and we do not need the assistance of any other country.'

SCANDALS

While a senior Islamic cleric, Senator Samu-ul-Haq, one of Pakistan's leading campaigners for the imposition of tough Islamic laws that advocate severe penalties has found himself in the centre of rather embarrassing revelations following the arrest of a former dancing girl from Lahore, his political opponent, Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif is embroiled in another scandal.

Most of Pakistan's co-operatives owned by top politicians and feudal landlords helped powerful politicians with huge

Continued on page 22

LETTER FROM JAFFNA

President Premadasa's troubles with dissidents appear to have much to do with the current military operation in the North. With much information having surfaced about the links between President Premadasa and the LTTE, Premadasa has been impelled to show that he could be tough with the LTTE. The army has thus launched a new push boosted by recent purchases of heavy equipment.

At the initial stages at least some care has been exercised to minimise civilian casualties. Shelling lasted only a few hours and was directed mainly into unpopulated areas. Aerial bombing took place mainly in the Jaffna Fort and Koddadi areas. There were two aerial attacks in populated areas – Sittankerny and Massiapiddy – resulting in 5 civilians being killed. In Vadamaratchi, the Point Pedro jetty where most food supplies to Jaffna are unloaded was attacked. Much of the bombing and shelling appears to have been to confuse the Tigers about the direction of the army's main thrust.

The army ultimately landed at Sangupiddy jetty and in Puneryn. At Puneryn people were woken up from their beds and were treated fairly. No deaths occurred. In Vadamaratchi and Jaffna town people have been moving out inspite of the Tigers asking them to remain. The general expectation in Jaffna is that the army will have no difficulty in entering. So far there has been no major LTTE resistance. When this begins the conduct of the army, going by past experience, is also bound to deteriorate.

The army now in effective control of the exits from Jaffna, wants people going south to take the route through its Elephant Pass check point. This is being stopped by the LTTE. Many people are taking considerable risks travelling to Colombo by first taking a boat bypassing Elephant Pass and through Kompatti Veli – an area south of Elephant Pass flooded during the rainy season. The army is expected to stop this soon. This situation will further affect the supply of food, medicine and other essentials in Jaffna which are already in acute short supply.

These moves together with the bombing of Point Pedro jetty appear to be a signal that the army would like to acquire greater control over the supply of food and medicine into Jaffna. This will be strongly resisted by the LTTE. The result is evident.

Within Jaffna itself there is much discontent with the LTTE and the LTTE is feeling nervous. So great was the public skepticism that the LTTE felt obliged to issue a public denial that it had an understanding with Premadasa. It is also resenting the fact that a good deal of inside information is being broadcast over the SLBC by the EPDP in its regular slot.

PUBLIC EXECUTIONS

In the wake of recent Sri Lankan military operations in the North of Sri Lanka, public executions by the LTTE in the Jaffna peninsula have become widespread. Information has been received about at least 30 such executions.

The victim is usually brought to a public place in a jeep blindfolded, without prior warning. The victim is then shot following a brief confession. The identity of the victim remains mostly unknown. The pale complexion of the victims suggests that they had been incarcerated for a long time. The sudden rise in executions is associated with public discontent and an increased tendency on their part to be open. Concern is also being expressed about a large number of persons detained recently.

These include ordinary people students and even women social workers. These recent detainees in general had no political connections, but had been involved in some form of social work, which brought them into contact with ordinary people. Others looking back on these often trace the detention to some casual remark made by the person taken in. Nothing has surfaced on what is being done to them. Information previously available about torture and the physically and mentally debilitating conditions under which detainees are held, arouse great concern. In several known cases those released have died within a year.

4th November 1991.

Continued from page 7

LTTE in Mullaitivu but these are cut now.

The Sri Lankan armed forces' acquisition of long-range artillery pieces and reportedly even bomber-planes also from China have had their decisive impact.

On the 'policy' front also, Colombo has outwitted the LTTE. The peace proposals (emanating from Sri Lankan Minister S. Thondaman) and a three-day ceasefire were clever moves by a beleaguered Premadasa to get EROS's support (which in the event he did not need) for the required majority in Parliament. The *de facto* ceasefire was fractured when the Army top brass insisted it should be allowed to wrest more advantage from the LTTE. Premadasa himself did not tell the Army to halt the offensives as he was not secure in the saddle.

The string of reverses the LTTE has suffered would have brought home to it the indispensability of Tamil Nadu as a rear-base if it were to survive as a viable fighting force and how Indian indifference can handicap it.

Knowledgeable Tamil sources, however, assert that the Army has not gained in a big way by destroying the LTTE camps in the jungles of Mullaitivu and Amparai for it cannot hold on to this jungle territory. The capture of the islands off the Jaffna peninsula also do not mean much because the LTTE had only a sparse presence there. Despite the capture of the Jaffna Fort, the Army's push into the Jaffna peninsula and the town itself will not be a cakewalk and it is here that the Tigers' mettle will show, they say.

(Courtesy of *Frontline*).

Continued from page 21

loans. This practice militates against the charter with which they were founded for these co-operative banks were set up to lend money to rural projects to promote grassroot development.

The recent collapse of Pakistan's co-operative banking industry, wiping out deposits totalling about £470 million has caused serious political complications for Nawaz Sharif over the involvement of a family-owned company which received a loan of £8 million from the Co-operative bank.

The loan was repaid only after this facility was discovered and Prime Minister Sharif was forced to order a judicial investigation following the stinging campaign headed by the Leader of the Opposition, Ms. Benazir Bhutto.

The credibility of the Sharif government has suffered so much that some prominent supporters are already eyeing new political venues particularly with the demand for the dismissal of the government to safeguard the investigation growing louder and stronger day by day. Among them, ready to jump the 'sinking ship' in typical South-Asian political style is the leader of the government's religious right wing coalition partner, Qazi Hussain of Jamaat-e-Islami.

Meanwhile, the list of the kind of custom, Tahira the dancing girl had, is also growing longer and she has been brutally frank. Included in her register are names of a judge, a minister and a number of parliamentarians and politicians. Wonder whether Pakistan is ready to have some heads rolling – even literally!

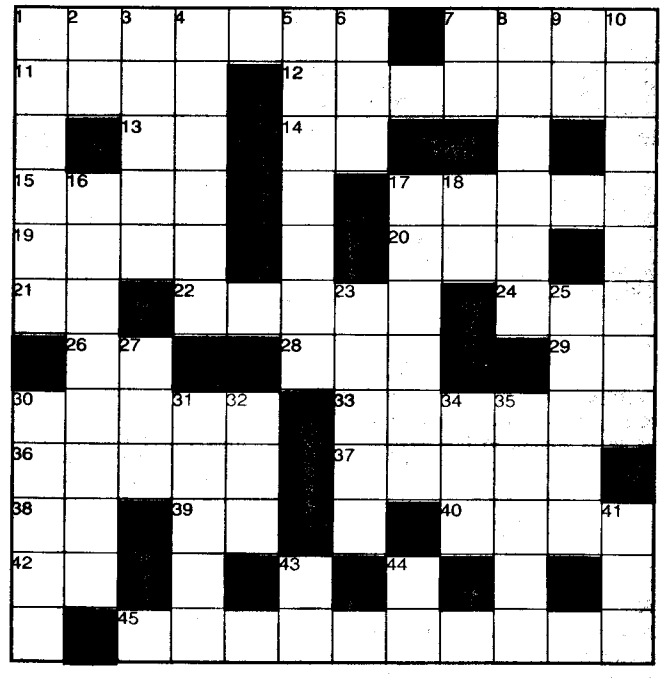
QUIZ CROSSWORDS – No. 10. Compiled by: Richards

Closing date for completed grid and coupon to be received is 31 December 1991.

Answers and the name of the winner – first all correct entry pulled out of a bag – will be announced in the January 1992 issue.

The winner will receive a prize of £20.00 sterling.

All entries should be sent to: Tamil Times, P.O. Box 121, Sutton, Surrey SM1 3TD, UK.



Across.

1. Celestial deities including Indra, Vishnu and Varuna (7)
7. Hindu goddess of speech (4)
11. The elixir of life, an aromatic plant juice used in vedic rituals (5)
12. Goddess who protects children and women in childbirth (7)
13. Pre-midday period (2)
14. A term of address used for royalty and ambassadors, ab. (2)
15. A lesser known cereal used in rural India (4)
17. Popular hill station in North India (5)
19. Shortly (4)
20. Cabbage (3)
21. Either the Salvation Army, South Africa or even South Australia (2)
22. Personified as one of Siva's wives, the daughter of Himalaya reaches the earth from the heavenly Milky Way (5)
24. After the manner of .... (3)
26. Behold (2)
28. TO – WITH LOVE, a great Sidney Poitier film (3)
29. Prefixed to 'mara' Amerindian people of Lake Titicaca of Peru (4)
30. The Golden One, the kind and propitious aspect of the great goddess (5)
33. The king of birds and the mount of Vishnu (6)
36. An ancient British and Irish alphabet of 20 characters (5)
37. Unjust or corrupt practice (5)
38. Chemical symbol for plutonium (2)
39. Law officer of the state, ab. (2)
40. The people of this ancient Irish goddess had as their enemies undersea phantoms perhaps representing light and darkness respectively (4)
42. Id est, that is to say (2)
45. Skanda, the six-headed son of Siva also identified with the best known galactic cluster of the heavens (10)

Down:

1. The titanic demons possessed of magical powers (6)
2. An elaborate event or even a swindle (2)
3. Fully developed stage of a butterfly (5)
4. A necessary operation to make a wild elephant a good worker (6)
5. In Hindu mythology the two benevolent horsemen, sons of Surya also referred to in Greek and Roman mythology (7)
6. Refers to a female already named (3)
7. Versus briefly (2)
8. Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence (6)
9. Small court (2)
10. Father of Parvati of stupendous stature (8)
16. Such a computer uses physical variables such as length, weight and voltage to represent numbers (8)
17. The sacred dung-beetle of ancient Egypt (6)
18. Priestess loved by Zeus who became a heifer to escape the wrath of Hera in Greek mythology (2)
23. Greek giant (5)
25. Loaded or burdened (5)
27. Who or how in disarray (3)
30. Milkmaids of the pasture lands and lovers of the youthful Krishna (5)
31. The much adored lover of Krishna (5)
32. The naughty one (3)
34. Prefixed to the Egyptian sun-god 'Ra' he becomes the Vedic Lord of the Jungles and the Beasts and also a deity associated with death (3)
35. A customary practice (5)
41. Siva's consort (3)
43. Briefly an out of the world TV fiction character (2)
44. Greek letter used as a symbol in mathematics (2)

Quiz Crosswords – 8: Solutions.

Across: 1. Bharatnatyam. 11. Hero. 12. Hebe. 13. Ma. 14. Manipuri. 16. Bass. 17. Ra. 18. Mama. 20. TT. 21. Ult. 23. Tab. 24. RI. 25. Reach. 26. Elongate. 29. Ha. 30. Singer. 31. MP. 33. Or. 34. Hog. 35. Turban. 37. Murals. 38. BT. 39. Ape. 42. Met. 43. La. 44. Rameswaram.

Down: 1. Bhubaneshwar. 2. He. 3. Armstrong. 4. Roasting. 5. Thiruvarur. 6. Nepal. 7. Abu. 8. Term. 9. AM. 10. Mahabharatam. 15. IATA. 19. Macho. 22. Trembler. 27. Lio. 28. Getups. 32. Pasta. 36. Rama. 38. BL. 40. Pa. 41. Em.

Winner: R. Sampanthar, 25 Vaudrey Drive, Cheadle Hulme, Cheshire SK8 5LR.

READERS FORUM

WHITHER DEMOCRACY

Please let me thank Mr. Sachi Sri Kantha for his polite expression of disagreement with my plea for democracy. His comments do, however, remind me of a parable related to the Mahabharatha.

Lord Krishna asked Yudhishtra and Dhuryodhana to tell him if there was anyone in the world that was absolutely good or absolutely evil. Yudhishtra responded that there was no one without good in him and Dhuryodhana that there was no one without evil in him. Each saw the world according to his way of looking at things.

The absence of democracy as one would perceive it, could to some mean that democracy should be rejected altogether and to some others that there is a need to struggle for it.

Nehru, despite his violation of the democratic principle on a few occasions, along with Russell and Shaw, was not one who rejected the democratic principle and the democratic goal. Their criticism of democracy as it was understood and practised was not with the view that the democratic goal should be abandoned. Even the LTTE and other Tamil liberation groups talk about true democracy. All I asked of them was practice of that principle.

I endorse the view that Westminster style democracy does not suit the third world but disagree with the position that the people who follow Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam rejected democracy. They have not had the opportunity to make a fair choice, and if democracy was rejected it was by a handful of people who control the wealth of these nations.

May I also ask correspondent Bernard Wijedoru whether he is serious about his implicit claim that Mr. Premadasa is the representative of the non-feudal, non-anglicised and underprivileged people of Sri Lanka. I wonder who was responsible for the killings of innocent underprivileged youth in the South and bombing of civilians in the North.

Coombe Lane, London SW12.

S. Sivasegaram

Continued from page 18

Fearing that the attackers might storm the stage, some of the people from the audience and the security personnel of the rebel leaders formed a large protective circle round the stage.

Mr. Premachandra who resumed his speech after the pandemonium had subsided said: 'Bombs cannot frighten us, or the people who attend our meetings. Those who planted this bomb will realise today the determination of the people who want to end this corrupt and terrorist regime. The perpetrators of this crime are traitors of the people'.

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MATRIMONIAL

Replies which had been received in response to *M 521* appear to have been lost while in transit to the advertiser. Those who responded are kindly requested to write again.

Jaffna Hindu parents *settled in U.K. seek partner in secure employment for their daughter, 27, working in a leading firm in London. M 531 c/o Tamil Times.*

Friend *seeks educated bride for Srilankan born Australian citizen, senior Australian public servant, 45, divorcee, no ties. Send details, photograph. M 532 c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu brother *seeks partner from any country for educated sister, 34, employed in Australia, permanent resident. Send horoscope, details. M 533 c/o Tamil Times.*

Cousin *seeks partner for Jaffna Hindu male, 29, in good employment in London. Write with details. M 534 c/o Tamil Times.*

Wanted alliance *for Indian Tamil male, 27, presently in India after higher education in U.K. Poet highly interested in English Literature. Country of origin immaterial. Send horoscope, details. M 535 c/o Tamil Times.*

Aunt *seeks educated groom with good job for niece, 26, 5'4", AL qualified, medium complexion, Mars afflicted. Send horoscope, details. M 536 c/o Tamil Times.*

Friend *seeks bride preferably professional for Christian civil engineer, 36, Australian permanent resident, willing to migrate. Divorcee without encumbrances. Religion immaterial. M 537 c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu Aunt *seeks partner for niece, 36, residing in U.K. M 538 c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu parents *employed abroad, seek suitably qualified partner with stable job for finalist accountant daughter, 27, 5'5", employed abroad. Send full details, horoscope. M 539 c/o Tamil Times.*

WEDDING BELLS

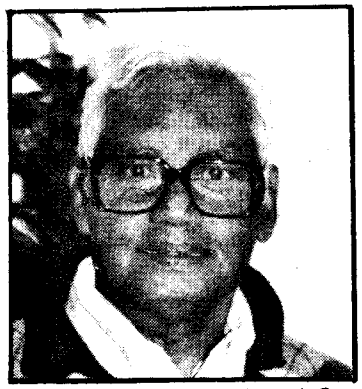
We congratulate the following couple on their recent wedding.

Ajit *son of the late Mr. Mano Kadirgamar and Mrs. Ranee Kadirgamar and* **Ganga** *daughter of Mr. & Mrs. Narayan M.K. Patel on 26.10.91 at Methodist Church, South Harrow, Middx., UK – 33 The Glen, Village Way, Pinner Middx.*

Namasivayasivam *son of the late Mr. Nadarajah and Mrs. N. Nadarajah of 66/6 Hindu Ladies Lane, Jaffna, Sri Lanka and* **Thayarani** *daughter of the late Mr. Tharmaratnam and Mrs. N. Tharmaratnam of Alvai North, Sri Lanka on 27.10.91 at Malvern Community Recreation Centre, Scarborough, Ontario, Canada.*

OBITUARY

Kamalawathy *beloved wife of Vythialingam Anandanadarajah of Ward & Davy (Navalar Kottam) and the Navalar Press, Jaffna, Retired Principal; mother, mother-in-law and grandmother respectively of Mrs. Skandamalar Indrakumar (Administrative Assistant), K. Indrakumar (Accountant) and Pradeepan, Prasanna, Sharmatha (all of Australia); A. Sivanandan (Senior Engineer), Mrs. Bama Sivanandan (Administrative Assistant) and Mulali, Brundan (all of U.K.); Mrs. Sivakumari Santhirakumar (Teacher), S. Santhirakumar (Shroff Officer) and Thayanujee, Shivanujee, Mayruja (all of Colombo); Mrs. Gayathri Navaratnam, S. Navaratnam (Shan) (Business Proprietors), and Aranee, Luxmy, Kannan (all of Luton, U.K.); A. Raveendran (Senior Systems Analyst), Mrs. Vasanthara Raveendran (Administrative Assistant) and Vibhushini (all of Australia); mother and mother-in-law of A. Bhahirathan (Architect) and Mrs. Vathsala Bhahirathan (Administrative Assistant) both of Australia, passed away in Luton, U.K. on 22.10.91 and was cremated on 27th October. – 4A Ringwood Road, Luton, Beds. LU2 7BG; Tel: 0582 582619.*



Candiahpillai Maheswaran, *formerly Secretary, Treasury Loan Board and latterly Administrator, Redd Barna, Sri Lanka; husband of the late Rajalakshmi; father of Nithyalakshmi (U.K.), Thillainadeson (Australia), Logeswari (Zambia), Saraswathy (U.K.) and Manoharan (Oman); father-in-law of Dr. Kumpeson, Leela, Mahendranathan, Balasingham and Jayanthi; grandfather of Umayal and Vasuki Kumpeson; Arul, Mahen and Partheepan Thillainadeson; Mahen and Abirami Mahendranathan; Mayuran and Suganya Balasingham; Dushy and Gayitri Manoharan; brother of the late Umapathisivam, the late Kalyanasundram, the late Ganeshasundram, Puvaneswari (Madras), Kathiresan (U.K.) and Mangayakkarasi (Sri Lanka) passed away in Lusaka, Zambia on 27.10.91 Funeral held in Zambia on 30th October – P.O. Box 34528, Lusaka, Zambia. Tel: Lusaka 264769.*

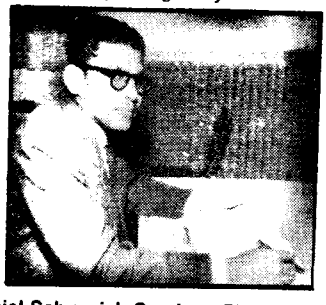
Augustine Saverimuttu *(71), Renowned Journalist; beloved husband of Ranee; father of Aroma (Canada) and Raju (U.S.A.); father-in-law of Anton; grandfather of Aristotle and Anita; brother of Pavalam (Sri Lanka), Late Idea, Jayamanie and Christe passed away on 28.9.91 at Mississauga Hospital, Ontario, Canada following a cardiac arrest.*

Namasivayam Deva Rajan, *Licensed Surveyor & Leveller, Arasady Road, Kantharmadam, Yarlpanam; dearly beloved husband of Padmadevi; eldest son of the late Mr. & Mrs. Namasivayam and Ratnammah; precious father of Sujithan (Sub Manager, Bank of Ceylon), Dr. Siva Kumaran (Halifax), Dr. Rajam (New York), Jeya Raman (Lecturer, Jaffna University), Rengan (Solicitor, U.K.), Raj Iswari (Australia); father-in-law of Jeyadevi (Teacher, Jaffna Hindu Ladies College), Suhanya (Halifax), Dr. Theventhiran (New York), Thangalogini (Jaffna), Nirthanakumaran (Computer Programmer, Australia); proud grand father of Jamuna, Karthika, Bharathan, Uththami, Luxmanan, Sri Ram, Vytharani and Devarajan; loving brother of Saraswathy Panchadcharam (Kantharmadam), Punjaksharam (English Teacher, Neervely), Late Navaretnam (Engineer, Nigeria), Late Ramanathan (Welfare Officer, Paranthan Chemicals) and late Veerasingam (Post Master, Chundikuli) passed away on 11.9.91 in Sydney. The members of his family sincerely express their deep gratitude to all friends, relations and admirers for their expressions of grief and sympathy in thought, word and deed at their hour of crisis. They regret their inability to thank all individually. – 'Jamuna', 257 Arasady Road, Kantharmadam, Yarlpanam.*

Mrs. Parasakthy Vettivelu, *wife of the late Dr. S.A. Vettivelu, General Practitioner, Jaffna; mother of Dr. Gnaneswaran (Reading, U.K.), late Yogeswaran (Former M.P. for Jaffna), Dr. Maheswaran (Washington), Dr. Rajeswaran (U.K.), Mrs. Gnaneswari Ramanathan, Mrs. Kamaleswari Nadarajah (both of Colombo), Mrs. Sivakumari Thaya Paran and Dr. (Mrs.) Jega Jegapragasam (both of U.K.) passed away in Colombo on 4.11.91 after a long illness. – 3 Martingale Road, Billericay, Essex CM11 1SG. Tel: 0277 656765.*

IN MEMORIAM

Lovingly remembered on the 2nd Anniversary of the passing away of



Daniel Selvarajah Sanders, Ph.D., ACSW,

Sept. 28, 1928 – Oct. 14, 1989

The First Annual Daniel S. Sanders Peace and Justice Lecture.

Internationally known as a leader in efforts to achieve world peace, human rights and social justice. Daniel S. Sanders was Dean, Professor and Director for the Center for Study of International Social Welfare Policies and Services, University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign School of Social Work, USA from 1971-1986; Founder and First President Inter-University Consortium for International Social Development, USA, from 1980-1989.

Former U.S. Attorney General of the United States, **Ramsey Clark gave the inaugural Daniel S. Sanders Peace and Social Justice Memorial Lecture on March 12, 1991 at the University of Illinois** *at Urbana-Champaign. His talk was on 'The United States Policy and the Persian Gulf'. Ramsey Clark was Attorney-General under President Lyndon B. Johnson from 1967-1969. A long time peace activist, Clark last November (1990) organized the Coalition to stop U.S. intervention in the Middle East. With the late Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., Clark is the co-author of 'Crime in America', and 'The Role of the Supreme Court'.*

Mrs. Christobel Chelvathy Sanders; Mrs. Harriet C. Sanders
Sanders/Niles families
– 614 West Florida Avenue, Urbana, Illinois 61801 USA.

IN MEMORIAM

Viswalingam Shanmugavadivel, *Retired SPHI of Valvettiturai*

Born 31.7.21 Departed 28.9.90

Sadly missed and fondly remembered on the 1st Anniversary of his passing away by his loving wife Ratnaganthi; children Amirthakala (Madras), Ratnakumar (VVT), Swarnakala and Nandakumar (both of Madras), Premkumar and Uthayakumar (both of Germany), Sivakumar and Sugirthakala (both of U.K.); sons-in-law Subashchandrabose (Canada), Ponnambalam (Switzerland) and Gobiratnam (U.K.); daughters-in-law Chandralaka (VVT), Atputhamalar (Madras), Yogamathi and Yogasarojini (both of Germany) – Flat 8, 21 Streatham Common North, London SW16 3HJ.

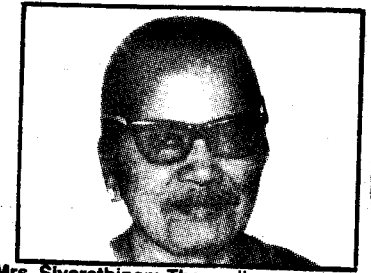
Master Kesavan

10th April 1973 – 7th November 1986

In loving memory of Master Kesavan, our dear son, on the fifth anniversary of his passing away under tragic circumstances.

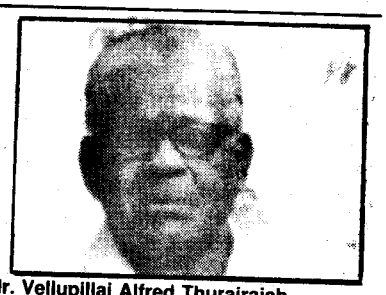
We all miss you very much darling and long for all the love and affection you bestowed on us.

Fondly remembered for ever by father Dr. Somasunderam, mother Chitra, brother Sanjeevan, Granny, uncle Sam Rajah and Aunty Gina – all from U.K. – 32 Copperfield Road, Cheadle Hulme, Cheshire, SK8 7PN.



Mrs. Sivarathinam Tharmalingam *who passed away on 22.11.90. In loving memory on the first anniversary of her passing away.*

Sadly missed and fondly remembered by her children Pathmalosany, Dr. Sivendran, Pushpalosany, Neelalosany, Nethralosany and Nirmalalosany; sons-in-law Perampalam, Dr. Kanagarasa, Dr. Thambirajah, Dr. Krishnarajah and Dr. Arumainayagam; daughter-in-law Ranjini; grand children Kalaivani, Kumudhini, Umarani; Shanthi, Anushya, Meera, Rajiv-Dharma; Vasanthi, Pamathi; Shanthamohan, Devaki; Vanathi, Balakumar, Bhahirathi; and Nimalan, Aravith.



Mr. Vellupillai Alfred Thurairajah

Born: 23.8.1914 – Died: 19.11.1989

In loving memory of our father on the second anniversary of his passing away.

Though the years may pass without you
Memories of you never fade away
Your love and kindness rendered to us
Shall always be cherished and remembered by us.

Sadly missed and fondly remembered by his wife Daisy Sebamany, children Indranee, Pathmaranee, Sounthararanee, Thevaranee, Luxumy and Swarna; sons-in-law Mahendran, Zamir, Balasubramaniam, Noel and Indran and grandchildren Lakshi, Omer, Nasreen, Vasuki, Janaki and Indran – 1B Vernon Drive, Harefield, Middx. UB9 6EG, U.K.

In loving memory of **Mr. K.S. Nathan Q.C.** *on the first anniversary of his passing away on 20.11.90.*

Sadly missed by his wife Elizabeth and children Mohan, Indarani and Anil.

Richard Jeyarajasingam

Called to Glory: 27th November 1990.

One year to this day has passed without you, with every moment bringing a pang of hurt. All lustre vanished from our lives, and yet deep within our hearts, you are always there. With thoughts of Love, Joy and happiness you gave, and the firm belief, you are in the perfect place, away from pain, tears, want and sorrows;

Justly yours.
Fondly remembered and sadly missed
Ranee
Ranjan, Seelan, Shanthy, Jeyanthy, Vanni, Dharshi, Deva, & Mahan

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

November 30 *5.00pm* **Arumuganavalar Day** *Celebrations at London Murugan Temple Annexe Hall, 90 Church Road, London E12. All welcome.*

Nov. 30 *7.00pm* **Patricians Annual Dinner & Dance** *at Harrow & Wembley Synagogue, 326 Preston Road, Harrow, Middx.*

December 5 *Ammavasai.*

Dec. 7 *6.00pm* **Combined University & Polytechnic Sri Lankan Students** *Christmas Dance at Camel Club, 108 Bolsover St. London W1 Tel: 081-886 9459 (Roscoe).*

Dec 10 *Chathurthi.*

Dec 12 *Thiruvembhavai Urchavam starts.*

Dec 14 Tamil Catholic Association *presents Carols 91, Bhajans & Cultural Show at Goldsmith College Hall, Lewisham Way, London SE14.*

Dec 15 *3.30pm* **Christmas Carol Service,** *Methodist Church, Gwendolen Avenue, Putney, London SW15. Preacher: Dr. Preman Niles.*

Dec 17 *Vaikunda Ekathasi.*

Dec 19 *Prathosa Viratham.*

Dec 21 *Full Moon.*

Dec 21 *6.00pm* **South London Tamil Welfare Group** *Christmas Party at Merton Hall, Kingston Road, London SW19 Tel: 081-879 7716.*

Dec 21 *6.30pm* **South London Tamil School P.T.A.** *presents Xmas Dinner & Disco Heath Clark High School Hall, Waddon, Croydon. Tel 081-679 2105/642 0870/654 1381.*

Dec 21 *7.00pm* **SCOT** *presents* **Musical Evening (Dinner & Disco)** *at Winston Churchill Hall, Pinn Way off Bury Street, Ruislip, Middx., in aid of Relief & Rehabilitation in Tamil Homelands. For tickets Tel: 081-468 7181/653 7811/870 9897.*

Dec 22 *3.15pm Mass for Peace in the Tamil Homelands organised by* **Tamil Catholic Association** *at St. Georges Cathedral, Westminster Bridge Road, London SE1.*

Dec 22 Thiruvembavai Urchavam last day.

Dec 28 *7.00pm* **The League of Friends of the University of Jaffna** *presents Annual Dinner & Dance at Forty Hall, Forty Hill, off Carter Hatch Lane, Enfield, Middx. Tel: 0923 225850/223987.*

Dec 31 *10.30pm Watchnight Service, Methodist Church, Gwendolen Avenue, Putney, London SW15. Coffee afterwards.*

At the Bhavan Centre, 4A Castletown Road, London W14 9HQ Tel: 071 381 3086/4068.

Nov. 28 *7.30pm Music, Dance & Drama in aid of Earthquake Victims of North India.*

Dec. 7 *5.30pm Lecture on Mahabharata by Mathoor Krishnamurthi.*

Dec 9 *7.30pm Kathakali Dance by a group of 14 artistes from Kerala.*

Dec. 14 *7.00pm Bharata Natyam by Kumari Nina and musicians.*

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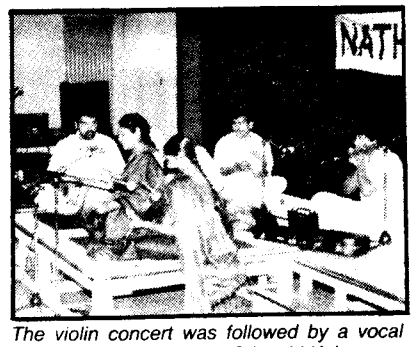
The Commonwealth Institute Hall was the venue of an exceptionally fine mridhanga arangetram recital by 11 and 12 years old Rhythmic Duo, brothers Jonathan and Jason Pararajasingaham respectively, of Kingsbury, London. The concert was acclaimed for the particularly high standard of rhythmic dexterity and adroitness the youngsters expressed in the finest traditions of Carnatic music with the greatest of ease and the quality of the training they had received from their guru, Sukumar Muthucumaraswamy. The vocal support for the evening's performance was provided by Isaivani Sangita Vidwan Srimati Sarasvathi Pakiarajah and Srimati Shanti Arulanandam accompanied by Dr. Lakshmi Jayan (violin), Sangeetha Ratnam Sri Balasri Rasiah (ganjira), Sri Thevakumar Sathasivam (gadam) and Srimati Hamshananthi Thayaparan (thampura).

Violin Concert & Vocal Recital

The Willesden Library Centre Hall was the venue on 31.8.91 when six young and promising violinists, all students of Sangeetha Vidwan Kalaivani Indrakumar of Natha Vidyalaya went on stage and performed a concert of choice selections of popular pieces on their soothing strings. The youngsters Janani and Jeyavani Atchuthan, Thuvaraka Vetpill Bhairavi Ganeswaran. Kalyani Chelvaratnam and Mythili Sarvananthar accounted themselves well and won the plaudits and appreciation of a discerning audience.



The violin concert was followed by a vocal recital of great quality by Srimathi Kalyanaraman, an artiste of great repute in this discipline of Carnatic music. Her evening's rendering included a selection of pieces which required great skill and expertise to render to a knowledgeable audience.

Srimathi Kalyanaraman was accompanied by Srimathi Kalaivani Indrakumar on the violin, Somasundaram Desigar on the Mridangam, Muthu Sivarajah on the Kanjira and Sithamparanathan on the Morsing.

The chief guest was Mr. R. Mahadevan, producer of B.B.C. Tamil Service. The concert and the recital were presented by the Natha Vidyalaya.

Udupiddy Welfare Association

The Udupiddy Welfare Association, a charity registered in the U.K. in 1988 has been holding several benefit performances and has remitted over £4000 for relief and rehabilitation in the Udupiddy area. They staged a cultural show at Rutland Boys' School Hall on 26.10.91. The Bharatha Natyam items were by Selvi Dharini Balatharan and Selvi Shammini Rajagopal. The excellent nattuvangam provided by Smt Ragini Rajagopal and the melodious singing by Smt Mathini Sriskandarajah inspired the dancers to provide a flawless performance. The picture below shows Dharini in a dance pose.

Thiru M. Yoheswaran delighted the audience with a vocal recital, which drew rounds of applause.

Kamini Kalidas's Kuchipudi

The KUCHIPUDI DANCE ACADEMY of U.K. presented a programme of Kuchipudi dances by **Kamini Kalidas** *and her students, at the Commonwealth Institute, London W8 on 27-7-91.*

The programme consisted of ten items all of different themes and movements. Kamini featured in six of them, and the last one 'Krishna Leela Tarangini' was her best where she displayed her dexterity by dancing on the edges of a brass plate whilst balancing a pot of water on her head and lamps on her hand. This item drew continuous applause from the audience.

The vocalist **Ambika Thamotheram** *rendered the songs and jathis fluently and with much emotion and bhava. On the Mirudangam was* **Muthu Sivaraja** *who kept up the rhythm for the intricate footwork, accompanied by* **Kandiah Sithamparanathan** *on the morsing.* **Dr. Lakshmi Jayan's** *violin and* **Dr. Nimalraj's flute provided excellent accompaniment.**

Uma Rao.

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